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ABSTRACT

The proceedings of a conference centered on the influences of urban life on child development, sponsored by the World Union for the Safeguard of Youth and the Conseil du Quebec de l'Enfance Exceptionnelle in 1979, are presented in this report. Three general themes were addressed at the conference: (1) the child in the family within the city, (2) the child outside the family in the city, and (3) ecosystems and urban life. For each theme a general introduction, major address, three lectures, and conclusions and recommendations were presented to the participants. These are included in the proceedings, as well as opening and concluding addresses to the conference. (MK)

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International Year
of the Child 1979

Urban Life and the Child

Proceedings

International Congress
October 31,
November 1, 2,
3 and 4, 1979
MONTRÉAL,
QUÉBEC,
CANADA

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Proceedings

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THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

Within the framework of the International Year of the Child, the World Union for the Safeguard of Youth and the Conseil du Québec de l'Enfance Exceptionnelle have decided to pool their experience and their efforts to organize an International Congress on the theme "Urban Life and the Child".

This congress was held at the Hotel Meridien, at the Complexe Desjardins and at the Hotel Loews La Cité in Montreal on October 31, November 1, 2, 3 and 4, 1979.

It is in this context that, jointly, the World Union for the Safeguard of Youth invited you to its 7th International Conference, and the C.Q.E.E. to its XVIIth Congress.

We wish to thank all our participants and all those who contributed to the success of this undertaking, particularly the *Ministers of Tourism, Fish and Game, of Social Affairs, of Education and of Justice of Quebec* who, by their cooperation in the fields of technical, financial and human resources, have greatly contributed to the organization of this event.

We also wish to thank the *Secretary of State of Canada* who has, in part, defrayed the cost of simultaneous translation.

This Congress was held under the high patronage of the Honorable René Lévesque, Premier of Quebec

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Mr. Marc-André Bédard, Minister of Justice
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URBAN LIFE AND THE CHILD

Presentation by Dr. Robert Lafon, President of WUSY

We cannot consider the various aspects of our theme URBAN LIFE AND THE CHILD, without thinking of the always intricate relations between the ecosystems which condition this life and which have become realities that we can neither refuse to recognize, nor even camouflage, by superposing new social structures or by making use exclusively of material or financial means.

So we must start with the urban ecosystems in which the city child is involved, and look inside these systems themselves to find the means of achieving a new balance, increased well-being, a better way of growing up.

"Urban progress" has become a need. Therefore the objective we must pursue is to restore, or give, to an existing societal framework — inspired by the idea of collective, ideological and bureaucratic solidarity and mutual aid — a social sense, a sense of the other, and socio-educational action which will permit the respect for and development of individuals and natural groups on the basis of their own dynamic forces, of the particular potentials and needs and aspirations of each and all of them, and not on the basis of submission to systems inspired by the lust for profit and power.

In the choice and acceptance, or even the imposition and organization of urbanized society, the child (and he will be the focal point of our study during the International Year devoted to his problems) has his role to play, his place to fill, since he is an integral, unique and especially lively and active part of the ecosystems with which he comes into direct or indirect contact and of which he is often the center. How, then, can we conceive of leaving him alone to submit to them, or adapt to them, unless we want to see him join the vast cohort of the maladjusted, the handicapped or the marginal?

Without demagogy, weakness or resignation, we invite to join us in our conference parents, social workers, doctors, psychologists, teachers, sociologists, city-planners, ecologists, "animateurs" and decision-makers, private individuals or representatives of public administrations — in other words, all those who have direct or representative commitments and responsibilities in the life of cities and in cities. It is the life of children in cities that we are asking you to observe, think about and act upon, as part of the effort to make these cities happy places, beneficial to all.

Presentation by Dr. Jean-Claude Marsan, President of the Congress

Two thirds of the populations of North America, Europe and Oceania live in cities. In one or two generations the same will probably apply to the majority of developing countries. Urban life tends to impose itself upon humanity as a predominant way of life. It is, therefore, within an urban milieu that most children will have to satisfy their need for love, security, autonomy and socialization.

Urban Life, and the technical civilization that supports it, have their advantages and their attractions, but they also impose their demands and their constraints. They tend to favor productive groups and to reject non-productive and vulnerable ones. Children, like the aged, have very little hold on their environment. The city frequently threatens even the adults who create it: greed for power and profit replace the pursuit of humanist values. Against this aggression and this dehumanization, can the family still serve as a haven for the child, and on what conditions?

The child has a right to develop his personal skills and to learn to become a useful member of society. On the one hand, the city can ignore him, on the other, it can, with its activities, its services and its permanent spectacle prove to be a marvellous tool for training and socialization. How does the child perceive and picture the street, the neighbourhood, his habitat? What kind of behaviour and practices do the conditions of his physical and social environment arouse in him? Is it not conceivable that the child, because of his autonomy, could, on the contrary, contribute to the shaping of his environment?

The city imposes its spaces and its life rhythms, and these are blamed for the impersonality and the stress affecting modern life. The child cannot escape the common lot. But would it not be desirable for the child, as well as for the whole urban community, to be able to satisfy his expectations in this field? How can these spaces be appointed and these rhythms planned to allow him to gain the maximum benefit from his experiences and from his time?

These are the realities and the questions which this Congress is called upon to explore and to study. Its aims are inspired by the global objective set by the United Nations for this International Year of the Child, to wit: "make the decision makers and the public more conscious of the particular needs of children". This conference will, however, extend beyond the framework of this limited purpose, in which the child is perceived and treated simply as the heir to urban society; it will examine and assert the child's strength and his potential role as the creator of the city of the future.

OPENING SESSION

Influence of the urban factor on the evolution of the psycho-social dynamics of the child

Mr. Gaston Schaber, Vice-President of WUSY; Professor of Clinical Psychology, Pedagogical Institute of Luxembourg (Grand Duchy) and State University at Liège (Belgium); Affiliate Professor for Comparative Education, Clark University

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The President of UMOSEA, Professor Lafon, has asked me to express his sincerest wishes for a successful meeting. We deeply regret that, due to his health, he hasn't been able to speak to you personally.

In his name I would like to express UMOSEA's heartfelt thanks to the Government of Quebec and to the Ministers whose patronage and presence confer special importance to this meeting. Thanks also to the "Conseil du Québec de l'Enfance Exceptionnelle", to the members of the Organizing Committee, the Scientific and Technical Committee, to the Press.

But, above all, with Mr. Marsan's leave, I would like to read to you Professor Lafon's letter addressed to the president of the meeting. Through his letter Mr. Lafon will open himself the meeting in which, only a few weeks ago, he still hoped to take part personally.

Mr. Chairman:

It was fifteen years ago, almost to the day, just a few months after receiving the Kennedy Prize, that I came to Ottawa and to Quebec at the invitation of her honor, the Canadian Federal Minister of Health. I thus had the opportunity to discover the friendliness and work enthusiasm of the Canadian people. Since then, I have returned on several occasions and have made friends with many of you, especially with his honor, Minister LAZURE, who was so kind as to help us in the preparation of the present Congress.

So you can understand with what joy and happiness I was looking forward to being with you and participating actively in the great meeting that we planned and prepared together on the subject we chose three years ago at Montreux: "Urban Life and the Child".

Unfortunately, the illness that started in July is still pestering me; it has necessitated a surgical operation and two periods of hospitalization. Although on the road to recovery, I am still not completely cured, and follow an intensive course of treatment that has left me so weak that it would not seem wise to cross the Atlantic at this time. I am therefore writing to send you my best wishes for the success of your work, and my congratulations for the excellent program you have set up. I would also like to thank the C.Q.E.E., the Organizing Committee and the Scientific Committee, and especially yourself, Mister Chairman, as well as Mr. Eugène ARSENAULT and Mrs. Andrée GUILBEAULT whom I had the pleasure of welcoming to Montpellier a few months ago.

As if in anticipation of what was going to happen to me, I had already asked the Secretary General of U.M.O.S.E.A., Professor SCHABER, to replace me at the opening session. He was kind enough to agree, despite his numerous responsibilities, and I expressed to him my heartfelt gratitude.

On the subject of "The Influence of the Urban Factor on the Psycho-social Dynamics of the Child", I would have liked to warn you — in this age of science and computerism — against the danger of dehumanizing generalizations. There is no average child, but individual children with their originalities and differences, families and groups of children with their distinctive rhythms, settings, interests, drives; classes of children with their distinctive ethnology, ethology, needs, frustrations, their pathology due to deprivation or to affluence. There are the marginals, there is the Fourth World that the city attracts and consumes as the flame attracts and burns the moths — they must not be forgotten.

There is no single urban way of life, but a whole gamut of urban ways of living that impose themselves, interconnect, by-pass each other or conflict. The neighborhoods, the buildings, the green spaces, the public areas, the abandoned areas, the streets and the overcrowded means of transportation, the recreational areas, are so many setting that secrete in varying proportions: well-being, opposition, protest, the search for compensation, violence, segregation.

The agressiveness of urban settings and living conditions can be expected to provoke reactions as: abdication and alienation, violence and destructiveness, or frenzy and the search for an escape into pleasure and drug.

The city denatures natural life, so to speak, impregnating the human being with a psycho-social halo and habits he carries with him like the snail or turtle its shell, with the result that even the vacation spots are increasingly urbanized.

So what is needed from earliest childhood in the way of preventive measures to safeguard against the dangers of urban living are periodical plunges into genuine rural experience, "re-naturation" in a world where earth and water, plants, animals, the rhythms of the sun and the seasons, bad weather, make their reality felt; where everything man cannot master restores his desire to be integrated into unsophisticated and unadulterated eco-systems, to live in a world of reality rather than illusion.

We have created "classrooms in the snow" for city children, so why not "rural life classrooms" where nature, plants and animals, the simple, healthy life of the peasant or the country artisan would be both teacher and classrooms for observation, manipulation or production. The programs "polished up" by the important educators of the central administration would thus be supplemented by an education programmed by the multiple cycles of real life.

A naturistic utopia, somewhat permeated by the old Rousseau spirit! Anachronistic ideas at a time when telematics is ready to enter every home and school!

The child of tomorrow will have to learn to live with both the cow at large in the fields and the programmed computer that can answer every question.

What nourishment will be best for him: milk or information? If La Fontaine were still alive, he could invent a beautiful fable: The Cow and the Computer. I leave the moral to your imagination.

I hope that, in the course of your Congress, you will do more than take stock, that you will become aware of the necessary combination of these two extremes, and put forward proposals whereby urban and rural life — in fact, all lives — will blend their reality and their dynamism in order to contribute to a better development of the child, to his better integration into urban life, preparing the man of tomorrow to live in reality and not in an artificial world.

Please excuse this digression — not to say divagation — which is perhaps a little too idyllic and Eighteenth Centuryish, and so rather old-fashioned, but I am only trying to tell you how much I would have liked to be with you for these days of intensive exchange.

I am impatiently awaiting your conclusions and the report on your work.

Good work, good Congress, and my thanks to all who contributed to preparing and carrying it out, especially the Government and Ministers of Quebec, the C.Q.E.E., the Organizing Committee, the members of the U.M.O.S.E.A. and above all Mrs. RIVIDI, the Administrative Secretary General, active heart and mind of our Association.

Cordially yours,

ROBERT LAFON

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am not going to make the report Mr. Lafon might have made. And, -- this might relieve you, — I am not going to give the full account of my contribution to the preparatory documents relating to the meeting. My notes represent the outline of a technical study that would be of no interest to anybody this evening. I will just stick to some reflexions . . .

In today's press Mr. Marsan introduced our conference as a meeting of fat men, meaning that this meeting would reflect above all the situation of Western societies without settling the problems of those countries suffering from hunger. My intention is not tc contradict him. I was going to say the same thing but in a slightly different way for two reasons:

— the first is that I am a guest, a new-comer not yet knowing where to put my foot in

— the second is that I believe we should not waste our credibility in speeches on pauperism, which developing countries could never appreciate, as it is not our speeches that will solve their problems . . .

But what about urban expansion which is one of our main concerns? According to the 1979 report on world development, financed by the World Bank (and published by Oxford University Press), the assessments for the year 2000 are as follows:

— By the year 2000 there will be in the developing countries about forty towns with more than five million inhabitants, compared to a dozen towns of that size in the industrial countries. There will even be eighteen towns outgrowing the ten million mark and Mexico City might even count thirty million. It is obvious that the problems which arise from these frightening figures — whether these problems condition urbanization or result from it — are not problems of urbanization but enormous problems of poverty and overpopulation. (In this context it will be necessary, as a counterpart, to study the relations between the growing wealth of Western societies and their demographic and urban slow-down. The historians among our lecturers may reveal possible similarities and differences between our own past and the crushing urbanization of the Third World, thus making it easier for us to understand what is going on at present.)

— Again, according to the same international report, it results that in these new huge towns expanding above all the areas of poverty, only a very limited, privileged part of the population will take an active and decisive part in the process of urbanization. Programmed development will merely favour those already privileged. As far as these developments are concerned, priority has generally been given to

- the building of houses too expensive for the great majority of the newcomers
- the building of highways and underground stations, costly traffic systems with limited access, profiting above all the present resident classes.

Priority is not claimed for the needs of the great majority of the population at reasonable costs.

- Geographic centralization of power and decisions, of administration and communication is as obvious in the developing countries as in our Western towns. Similarly, this centralization provokes a profound change of social texture in the inner city. The inner city is shaped by and for a small part of a wealthy adult population of commuters.

Such trends are serious and general and ask for a close examination of dynamics and ideologies . . .

This will surely be the line upon which we will center our analysis in the coming days. The towns, our towns, are not built for children, in no aspects, neither habitat, nor street, nor means of transport.

Our meeting will concentrate chiefly on this issue, because we believe it is indispensable to do so. However, it would be dangerous to focus all discussions on the child's perspective, as if there were no other, or as if it could be adequately analysed by cutting it off from all other problems. In fact, the child is no isolated being; his existence is an integral part of a total system. The town, designed to make money (Marsan), designed to wield power and to centralize administration, is not only hard on children, but also on elderly people, on the large majority of families and on the poor. To cut off the child from this problematic entity by marks of preference is doubtlessly an easily understandable reaction (which might even pay emotionally in the International Year of the Child), but it is not necessarily the most adequate approach. It might even easily turn into an alibi function.

I have just spoken of the town in its worst aspects. But it would not be justified to see it only from this point of view. Since we began to conceive of the town we have seen it indissolubly linked with development, as the place, the factor, the product of development in its various dimensions: economic, intellectual, cultural, social, emancipatory . . .

Today we are learning to see the town in its whole ambiguity: with its facilities and its constraints, both difficult to separate. The moment we make our towns responsible for most of our ills, it might be inconvenient,

yet useful, to ask two questions. Haven't we got the towns we deserve? Aren't urban ills the price we must pay for certain advantages which happen to be our own and which we wouldn't dream of giving up? In the present situation we must learn to see our towns in a differenciated way, not simply for the intellectual pleasure of analysis, but, through comparisons and assessments, to express a definite choice and clear options . . . so as to know better what kind of towns we would like to have, provided we ever come to the same conclusions.

The vast program resulting from a fusion of two conferences (C.Q.E.E.'s and UMOSEA's) includes contributions by historians, sociologists, ecologists and psychologists, who will surely do away with the seeming simplicity of the topic "Urban Life and the Child". Urban life, the child, in the singular? Not all towns and all areas rate the same on the scale of analysis which we may establish. Not all children live in the same conditions in the large networks of urban life, not all profit from the same facilities, not all live under the same constraints.

I hope that in the variety of approaches we will succeed in grasping the problematic issue which is not manifest in the large themes: control and impotence. It will be illustrated here by the extent in which the individuals as well as the groups control their urban environment.

I could not give a comprehensive assessment of all these problems in a few minutes, but at least I would like to point out their outline with the help of a few questions, of which the first might seem simplistic and insidious.

Where and how do the builders, the decision-makers, the promoters of our towns live? If this question sounds too direct we may put it on more neutral ground. Let us imagine a scale of habitat-control:

- at one end, there is control of multiple housing: a house or accommodation in town, the residence outside the town, perhaps cottages or flats in different climatic zones (according to the pattern: winter in California, summer on Cape Cod)
- at the other, there is impotence and multiple deprivation: no other alternative but housing at lowest price, no space inside or outside, no private sanitary installation, no protection against noise, humidity, stench . . .
- in between these extremes you can imagine this large variety of shades from which I am going to pick out a single one to illustrate another aspect of the problem.

My outline is of a simplicity that boarders caricature. It remains to show that this control or impotence concerning housing is only one aspect of a more global control or impotence covering a larger set of fields: income, work, education of children, health, social participation, culture, leisure . . .

When we argue about our towns and our children in our towns we will have, before taking any general resolutions,

— to keep in mind our own and our speakers' position on this scale of control

— to be aware that the access to facilities and the submission to urban constraints are not independent from the positions on that scale — neither are the suggestions for change upon which we may conclude.

Let me clarify part of the point at issue concerning control with the help of a simple example chosen from the middle class, an example which can be checked in any town.

Consider the inner-circle around the inner city. It is most likely that this circle was drawn by houses of relative wealth where adults and children could enjoy good living conditions as a whole, for one or more generations, according to the expansion-rate of the city. It is also very likely that the heirs and successors of these first generations left those premises. When? The moment this circle was going to be crushed between the inner city and the newly favoured areas. The moment also when those families had acquired enough wealth to look elsewhere, in the outlying districts, in the country, for the housing quality that was getting lost in the inner-circle. (By selling or letting their houses in the inner-circle to a rising class, however less demanding than their own.) The class that managed to leave the town and build up better living conditions farther away, is coming back to town daily to work . . . in their cars. And they park their cars . . . in front of the houses they sold, thus turning the streets they left into polluting parking zones, thus spoiling the quality of life for the new-comers to the old circle.

Let us add three questions to this short outline: Quality of life . . . For whom? At what price? Who is paying the price? It seems difficult to me to speak honestly of the quality of life in a city or elsewhere without trying to answer these questions.

In simple terms: if we test the quality of life in a town, we can say it is good on condition that it is good for those adults and children who have no other place to live.

THE CHILD IN THE FAMILY WITHIN THE CITY

FIRST GENERAL THEME

The socio-economic context of families in urban life: the child in the family within the city

Professor Tamara Hareven, Professor of History, Clark University; Research Associate, Center of Population Study, Harvard University; Editor of Journal of Family History

It is unfortunately impossible for us to present Mrs. Tamara Hareven's text, as she was unable to forward it to us before the prescribed deadline.

ADDRESS

Mr. Marc-André Bédard, Minister of Justice

It is not without a certain feeling of pride that Quebecers today welcome the participants to your Congress which will remain one of the major events of the International Year of the Child. An important event in itself, but which will moreover greatly contribute to extend far beyond this Year the concern which the decreeing of an International Year dedicated specifically to the child has succeeded to elicit from world opinion. The continued commitment of the World Union for the Safeguard of Youth and of the Conseil du Québec de l'Enfance Exceptionnelle to the cause of the young does indeed ensure that the considerations to which you are going to devote the next four days will have an aftermath. This determination to continue the action undertaken and to give permanence to measures susceptible to improve the present and future life style of young people guides Quebecers as well. It is with this in view that Quebec society has given its children the Law for the Protection of Youth which bestows on them the status of full citizens with full rights clearly set down in terms of legislation. The frame of reference of the legislation also aims at developing a fresh approach to the problems of the young, but in particular it calls for a constant sensitization of adults to the needs, the difficulties, the aspirations of the young and to ways of responding to them.

Like all the citizens of the world concerned for the improved well-being of children, Quebecers intend to profit from the reflections you will devote yourselves to during this Congress with the great theme of "Urban life and the child". You are indeed called to highlight the fundamental dimensions of a factor which greatly influences the evolution of the child in today's society, the very framework of the city.

The urban fabric has, as we know, a marked influence on the behavior of all individuals: it acts upon their development, decides to a great extent of their organization, and is on the whole frequently responsible for the position in which each individual finds himself. The adult, although possibly only the more experienced one, will find his place, will know how to react when necessary in order to take the place due to him in the organization of this society. To achieve this he is in a position which allows him to manipulate the levers of influence, a condition not within the grasp of the child. The young person lives in fact in the crucible which well-intentioned and sincere adults consider best suited for the shaping of tomorrow's adult; but don't we a little too often forget to consult those for whom we work, the young people themselves, and involve them in the process of research in, and operation of the setting for the child's development. The maturity of adults, their life experience, their gift for analysis could, in my estimation, be happily complemented by the idealism, the simplicity, the spontaneity of the young. Sensitizing the adult world to this contribution should thus lead to bridging the gap and to allowing adults to listen to the child and to associate him as a full-fledged participant in the undertaking of rebuilding society.

In Quebec we have endeavored to develop this pooling of the resources of the young and of adults by largely backing the contribution of children. The International Year of the Child will have been a privileged opportunity to further the sensitizing of adults to the outlook of the young and to their aspirations. It will have allowed many children, by way of programmes and projects conceived and realized by them, to affirm themselves, to commit themselves resolutely to the path of participation in their own future.

We will in fact leave it to the young to determine the value of the contribution made by the International Year of the Child and the sequel to it that they would like to see.

"I dream of a country of my age", children have said. Let us help them build this country, let us help them draw up its blue-print, let us supply the material.

Dear friends, the concern that moves us and the quality of the participants gathered here permits us to entertain legitimate hopes for the impact that your reflections shall have on the cause of the children of the world, on their place in today's society and in the society of tomorrow.

As Minister in charge of the International Year of the Child in Quebec, I am happy that Montreal was chosen to host this Congress which, in addition to being an essential event of the International Year of the Child, will stimulate the future action demanded by the commitment to the cause of the child to which all nations of the world have this year pledged themselves.

The Government of Quebec is happy to have contributed to this event. In the name of the Premier, the Honorable René Lévesque, and of my Cabinet colleagues, I wish you a fruitful Congress. In the name of the children of Quebec I thank you for your interest and your devotion to them as well as to all the children of your countries.

LECTURE 1

Intra-family behavior in urban life

Professor Charles E. Caouette, Department of Psychology, University of Montreal

> "From all sides, truth encircles man more and more. One could almost say that to be touched by truth — which required in the past a lifetime of effort — all man has to do is not retreat. And yet, how difficult it is."
>
> Martin Lings

At the outset of this International Congress focussing on urban life and the child, it is both tempting and dangerous for us to take refuge in entirely paternalistic and colonial attitudes and considerations. There is indeed a pitfall for our gift of insight and self-criticism, a pitfall into which we could stumble if we undertake to create for the child, with serenity and enthousiasm, an artificial paradise paved with delicate and glib intentions.

Before we approach the specific problem of the child in an urban setting, it may be wise to remember that as regards the problems which confront us we have developed certain automatic reactions which have the effect of inevitably driving these problems from our consciousness.

The most usual reflex called forth quite spontaneously in our working environment is to appoint committees. The problem that previously troubled everybody then becomes the problem of a committee and the trick has been played: the problem no longer troubles anyone, all can live and sleep in peace, and are then able to tolerate the problem for a long time.

When the problem does not concern a definite organism, but society itself, or a large segment of human activity, the specialists in the matter gather for a symposium or a congress. They agree unanimously to analyse the problem and to denounce the causes and agents responsible for it.

I have noticed that the scientific analysis of a problem often has an analogous psychological effect to that of setting up a committee. But the relief from annoyance brought about by forming a committee is increased by a very important secondary and marginal benefit: the intellectual delight related to the process of scientific analysis itself. Some participants reach full enjoyment only if their analysis leads to the formulation of recommendations; those who have a less developed sense of daring take no chances: they arrive at the Congress with ready-made recommendations in their luggage.

This to me seems to explain, only partly of course, why the scientific analyses to which many symposia and congresses are devoted result not only in a too easy toleration of very acute problems, but in their very preservation, somewhat like a child who refrains from biting on his candy in order to make it last. This could possibly explain the incredible, indeed compulsive proliferation of scientific analyses, verifications and counter-analyses concerning social and political problems which we do not dare settle "for real". Let us just think of the problems of children living in underprivileged conditions, of the problems of segregation, of hunger, of the armaments race, of the problems of pollution and the destruction of the environment. Certainly neither analyses nor publications, neither congresses nor recommendations have been lacking and yet, to what degree have we indeed attenuated these problems?

I must immediately explain what drew forth these somewhat defeatist impressions and feelings: while preparing this lecture on the theme suggested to me, I undertook a few readings, then a few more, and finally reached the conclusion that everything has been said and written before! After having read, for instance, *Dans la ville, les enfants* (In the city, the children), in the "Autrement filles," *La charte des enfants* (The children's charter), by Boulin and others, *L'Enfant et la raison d'état* (The child and the reason of State), by Philippe Meyer, *Quel homme* (What man) and *Quelle société* (What society), by Jacques Grand'Maison, *Quand plus rien ne va de soi* (When nothing is self-evident) by Gérard Mendel, *Interdit aux mineurs* (Admittance restricted), Report of the Canadian Council for Childhood and Youth, *Small is beautiful*, by Schumacher, etc., one hardly dares to say or write anything, for it is obvious that reading and writing do not settle problems any more than do committees, symposia and congresses. I have therefore attempted to learn not what more we should know, but why and how we have succeeded in living so well with such large and acute problems about which we are so much knowledgeable.

In other words, instead of scrutinizing the problems of urban life and the child, I have focused on our own reactions and adult behavior in relation to the problems of the child living in an urban setting. I have attempted to understand our own behavior and to confront it with the needs and the expectations of the children and adolescents.

At the start of this Congress in this magnificent hall of the Place des Arts we, who are serious and competent adults, plan to speak of the fundamental rights of children and to express our concern about their fate in an urban setting. At a time when we ourselves are especially dispossessed of almost all control over our time and our vital space, at a time when our own powers and responsibilities are to a greater and greater extent assumed by the State, when our social relations are continuously impoverished, until they become strictly functional and utilitarian, expressing themselves in the stereotyped behavior of competition and domination, how are we suddenly going to be able to become truly conscious of the needs of the child and respecful of his rights?

Indeed, how shall we for three days seriously attend to the needs and rights of the child when, every day, we are frustrated in our own fundamental needs as human beings? How shall we give the child an attentive and genuine hearing when, where they are concerned, we are the accomplices of an alienating and dehumanizing society? In other words, why would we seriously want to shape the city into a life setting for the child if it has never occurred to us to shape it into a life setting for ourselves? Alienated, frustrated and resigned adults will never be able to help the child or the adolescent to assert himself, to free himself and to learn autonomy and collective responsibility. One cannot give what one does not possess, and one cannot ask from others what he is not experiencing in his own life.

It is not a quite extraordinary phenomenon, that a whole generation of human beings (including some of its best informed and most lucid members, some of which are gathered here in this Congress) succeeds in surviving in an universe of fundamental contradictions and incoherences? It almost looks like a collective schizophrenia! How have we achieved this feat? It seems to me that it happened through a curious mixture of two very powerful defensive reactions: identification with the aggressor on the one hand and, on the other, the loss of the sense for evidence.

This mixture achieves, however, a relatively fragile and unstable balance, and I know the risks one runs by attacking it. Nevertheless, I am attacking it, being deeply convinced that not one of the changes we are going to propose at the end of this Congress will be implemented if we do not personally and collectively take the responsibility for making these changes of our own free will. Moreover, we will not succeed in making any of the changes we propose if we do not start by making changes in ourselves. All this, quite simply, according to the evidence or, if you prefer, to the inter-actionist theory of the concordance of environment-individual, because the problems of urban life which we are going to examine, are the direct reflections of our own contradictions and incoherences, of our conflicts of values and of our superior inability to make choices.

It is a fundamental personal belief that today's young people suffer above all from our personal, collective and institutional incoherences, because these represent the most severe threat to the development of the child and to his psycho-social balance. I will first look at our adult contradictory behaviors as parents in the home; then I will more closely analyse the internal contradictions of today's school. This self-critical mode, as well as, the reactions of children and adolescents to our society, will lead us to discuss in conclusion, some projects on which to find new hopes.

I. **Our adult incoherences**

It is readily admitted that our values, the level of our aspirations, our concept of the human being and of life are to a great extent the reflection of our education and, quite frankly, even the result of our previous conditioning. It is interesting to observe that these values and this conditioning assert themselves with magnitude, intensity and considerable clarity in our relations with children.

Thus it is easy to observe the obvious priority we grant to Doing over Being; consequently, in relation to children, we are much more concerned about what they do and will do than about what they are or would like to be. This priority of Doing over Being is such that we identify people solely by their activity. It seems so normal to us that we do not even consider how it could be otherwise. For instance, if you ask me who Mr. Paré or Mrs. Dubois is, I shall tell you that Mr. Paré is a plasterer and Mrs. Dubois a professor. Not only do I not find a different answer, but this answer is exactly the one you expect. What concerns you is the *function* of people, what they do that is productive. If I tell you that Mr. Beauchamp is an amateur fisherman, you will immediately want to know what his serious occupation is, you will want to know how *he earns a living*. In the same way, if I tell you that Mr. Tremblay is unemployed, you will have to make an effort not to

associate his position as unemployed with a lack of schooling, of dynamism and of health, or even with a lack of social conscience.

It is this priority of Doing that determines our adult perceptions and our interpersonal relations as well as, in a very peculiar way, our relations with our children. Useful and profitable work concerns parents so much that many of them resort to various modern techniques to become *efficient parents* themselves.

Parallel to this priority of Doing over Being we grant a value as predominant to Appearance over Being. It is not only what people do that is important but the impression made by this activity. This is how all trades have become hierarchialized; the level of income and of social status, the "standing" of people express this hierarchy. At the bottom of the ladder we find all domestic tasks, manual labour and, unfortunately, also the bringing up of children in the home. It may be useful to be reminded of this at the time of the opening of this Congress concerning the child. What place do we grant the child in our environment when we grant so small a place, so little importance, so little help to those who give life and who want to devote themselves first and foremost to bringing up the child in the home? According to our hierarchy of functions and jobs we accept as normal, to the point of not even questioning it, that a manual worker earns much less than an intellectual worker or a professional, we even find it quite normal that a football or hockey player earns much more than the Prime Minister of the country or the President of the United States.

Moreover, we are not only impressed by what people do, but also by their ability to spend and consume, even if they do it on credit; and one almost reaches the height of social standing and success when one can afford not to work at all any more. This circle is more than vicious! The culmination is in fact to be able to consume full time without producing, without needing anybody; quite simply a return to the *principle of pleasure*. Yet it is precisely this hedonistic principle which the entire education of the child will attempt to combat.

I think that these considerations can help us to discuss, directly and candidly, the problems of today's child and adolescent. These primary values of Doing and Appearance are the most influencial ones in our society and the most meaningful in an urban setting. These are the values that most commonly confront the young and that are most frequently at the root of the blocked communications within the family and between the young and the adults.

If as adults we are so thoroughly conditioned by the values of Doing and Appearance, it is well worthwhile, when opening our discussions on the conditions of nutrition and housing, on leisure spaces and centres, on teaching institutions, on ecological problems, to make some efforts to attempt to isolate and clarify our deepest concept of the child. Our behavior and our educational attitudes in the home express indeed this concept, a point to which I shall now turn.

II. **Our behavior as parents in the home**

The family is usually defined as a comprehensive whole of social relations between adults-parents and children, and at the same time as a system of values and rules of behavior that determine the relations of these people among themselves and their relations with others.

The family, however, is an institution that knows so many sudden jolts that I leave to specialists the task of analysing the very complex dynamics of the family in its relations to the physical, social, economic, cultural and political environment. I also leave to historians the task of analysing the evolution of this social institution from its origins to what seems to have emerged today and which Professor Shorter calls the post-modern family. I am also prepared to share the optimistic view of Statistics Canada which, taking into consideration the growing number of separations and divorces, of the large proportion of single parent families, of the decrease in the birth rate, etc., judges that the family is not on the way to disorganization, but on the way to re-organization. This too is, no doubt, a matter of opinion!

It seems to me, however, that the instability of the family cell is a dominant factor in our way of looking at the arrival of a child and his education. In my contacts with young adults I am surprized to see that many of them, even when they have lived as a couple for a number of years, do not really know whether they will have children someday, as they are not sure that they will stay together long enough to assure, as a couple, the long education of a child.

Others do not worry about the stability of their union but about economic problems. Now that the cost of a child from age 0 to 16 or 18 has been calculated within a few hundred dollars, certain couples have come to consider the child as a luxury which they cannot afford or, at least, will not be able to afford until they have paid off their debts and have sufficiently well settled in life. Other couples will not consider having children unless they are assured in advance that they can count on the availability of day-care centres, private or

public, because the two members of the couple cannot commit themselves, on economic, ideological or on mental health grounds, to assure a stable presence for the child or to drop an outside full time or part time job.

I do not criticize any of these attitudes shared by young couples; I state that they exist and that they express the concept which individuals as well as social and government institutions have of the child and the place they grant him.

Everyone can easily recognize the real difficulties encountered by those who have children and who want to assure their education, particularly persons who find themselves alone after separations or divorces, or who decide to have children or adopt them while remaining single.

The family has been so much reduced to just the couple, in contrast to the large families and clans of the past, and family life has so much withdrawn solely into the home, that the difficulties to have and to bring up children are not only very real but they have become excessive and almost prohibitive. But while more and more people demand from the state more and more aid and services, others are concerned about the State usurping the functions, the duties and responsibilities of the family and, faced with the steadily growing control the State exercises over both the family and the child, they are sounding the alarm. The book by Meyer, *L'enfant et la raison d'état* (The child and the reason of State) is particularly enlightening on this subject.

The result, it seems to me, is that adults who live in the urban environment are more and more dispossessed of their time and their space, more and more alienated in their work and in their leisure, and increasingly dispossessed of their educational responsibilities. At a time when the care and education of the child is increasingly entrusted to organisms like the schools, the daycare centres, the leisure centres, the holiday camps, etc., I wonder why, in conferences that deal with the needs and the rights of the child, the problem of the rights and needs of parents are not candidly and officially considered. In fact I do not believe that it is possible to succeed in making the home, the school and the city a setting for the life of the child and the adolescent if the adults do not undertake to make once and for all of the house in which they reside, or the school in which they work, or of the city in which they dwell genuine settings of life for themselves. Settings in which they will find a valid answer to their own basic needs, a capacity to establish genuine social relations and a possibility to exercise true decision making power concerning their own life and environment.

What is particularly disturbing in this situation, a situation of which we already are deeply conscious, is the inability of parents and adults to join forces in a collective action aimed at founding a society based on new values, a society geared to the needs of the human being, be it child, adolescent or adult.

It is possibly in light of our awareness, of our frustrations as adults, parents, workers, and of our inability to join in a genuine collective project, that we must look at the place and importance taken by leisure, sports and particularly by television. "A strange paradox, says Grand'Maison, this disrupted and makeshift life, set in a social organization programmed according to Taylorian techniques, by television or by sports rituals. We even leave it to travel agencies to organize our holidays" (1978b, p. 83).

Speaking of television in particular, Urie Bronfenbrenner analyses as follows its impact on the quality of family life:

> "Like the Wizard of old, the television set casts its magic spell: it decides on and immobilizes speech and action and changes the living into silent statues for as long as the magic spell lasts. The primary danger of the television screen does not lie so much in the behavior it occasions, although, there is danger in that too, but in the behavior it prevents: conversation, games, parties, family discussions thanks to which the child acquires the greatest part of his training and shapes his character. To turn on the television set is tantamount to turning off the process which transforms children into men." (in Marie Winn, 1979, p. 147).

This is precisely the complaints formulated by two adolescents quoted in *La Charte des enfants* (The children's Charter). Hervé who is 14 says:

> "In the morning when I leave my parents are sleeping, in the evening when I come back, they are looking at T.V., and during meals, they yell about the trifles I am guilty of. There is no dialogue." (1977, p. 19).

Dominique who is 16 testifies in the same vein:

> "I love my father very much, but we live like stranger, out of habit. The only time we could talk to each other would be during meals, but he looks at television." (1977, p. 24).

Marie Winn, in her book *T.V. drogue?* (Plug-in drug), analyses the very peculiar role of television in our society, and considers the way we use it and abuse it as a symptom of other modern ills, like alienation, dehumanization, apathy, moral void. "The intimacy, formerly inviolate, of our homes and families, she writes, has been subjected to appalling infringements, either through legal government interventions or

through the illegal invasions of antisocial forces whose numbers seem to increase continuously. We feel more and more impotent, and our dependency regarding television is certainly a reflection of this impotence. For, if activity is futile in modern society, if our efforts have no meaning when faced with an uncontrollable and impervious bureaucracy, why not settle for the pleasure of absolute passivity?" (1979, p. 287).

Parallel to the studies undertaken on the use of hallucinogenic drugs by children and adolescents, other studies should be undertaken on the more socially acceptable drugs to which numerous adults who want to escape their marital and family responsibilities resort. I sometimes wonder whether some parents are not seeking the same escape and creating the same dependence when they devote themselves *excessively* to social, trade union and political movements, or even to relief and charity work, or join so called charismatic groups. I know personally children and adolescents who have practically no genuine contact, no communication with their parents because these are too deeply engaged in this kind of philanthropic or religious movements. One does not only escape into the imaginary into sports, alcohol or psychedelic experience, but also into service to others; but this latter escape makes one feel so worthwhile!

III. **The inner contradictions of today's school**

As the topic of this Congress is the child and the urban environment, it seems to me essential to insist to some extent on the school experience of children and adolescents.

A number of reasons prompt this choice. There is first the fact that I know the school setting fairly well from having worked in it for more than 15 years after having studied in it for more than 20. Second, the school seems to me to be the best mirror of our concept of the child, the faithful reflection of our educational values and our real attitudes toward the child and the adolescent. Third, the school occupies in the life of the young between the ages of 5 and 20 a position of prime importance and within the family life takes so great a place that the dialogue between parents and children is often exclusively limited to the school question. Last, there also is the fact that we too are products of that school; we who are among those with the most schooling are indeed the school's most refined and reassuring products. Because we have attended learning institutions for more than 15 years, and mostly because we have achieved great success and gained value, (otherwise we would not be here at this Congress of specialists), we find it all the harder to take a serious self-critical stance and to use the real powers we have at our disposal in society to achieve the required in depth reforms in education. (Why try to change a school in which you have been so successful, and which has succeeded so well with you?)

I do not criticize either the Department of Education or the school system in per se; I criticize the school we have given to ourselves, we the adults, the school which we want for our children and our adolescents, the school to which we have surrendered almost all our responsibilities as parents. I criticize the school which we, as taxpayers, subsidize and from which we require an ever greater return, a greater stringency and control to supplement more or less the roles which we refuse to assume at home. We want a school which concerns itself only with the future of the child, a school which reassures and gives guarantees. A school which will succeed in turning each child into a profitable worker, capable of integrating himself without clashes into our producing, consuming and competing society. The school of each for himself, because this is how the system works, a system of which we may feel ourselves to be prisoners, but which can be preserved only because we preserve it ourselves.

This school expresses our concept of the child and of education, but it chiefly embodies, by repeating them, our own contradictions and incoherences.

A) **The school is incoherent**

The major incoherences of the school can be found in particular at three basic levels: between the objectives of education and the school organization, between the objectives and the programs, between the objectives and evaluation.

1. **Incoherence between objectives and school organization**

In accordance with the declaration of Children's Rights, most countries declare that the child must benefit from an education which will allow him, under conditions of equal opportunity, to develop the whole of his potential. The Department of Education of Québec for its part declares that the first objective of the school must be to "allow children and adolescents to develop according to their particular talents and personal resources, to unfold as autonomous and creative persons." (DEQ, 1979, 2, 3).

In the various countries, if one considers what the child lives in school, not what he learns but what he lives, one is forced to admit that the child in school lives a systematic and continuous experience of dispossession and alienation.

— The child is first and foremost dispossessed of his child's way of thinking: it is the adult, who thinks with adult logic, who is going to show him how to think, what to think while he still has a child's logic and way of thinking.

— The child is dispossessed of his personal learning process: he needs not to seek, *discover* knowledge, play, manipulate and explore for himself any longer; an adult *explains* what he must know and retain.

— The child is dispossessed of his child's emotions. Ostensibly to teach him to control his emotions he is forced at a very early stage to repress his emotions. Later, he will have to resort to one of those modern therapies to recover his emotions and his psychic balance.

— The child is dispossessed of his natural social relations. Presumably to encourage his socialization, the child will be placed exclusively with children of his own age and as like himself as possible. Homogeneous groups are very important. No more spontaneous contacts with younger or older children, with more or less gifted children, with so called "maladjusted" children. No more contacts either with a great diversity of adults. The child now has a teacher specially for his own group who is fundamentally concerned about following a program of studies . . . A teacher who will be all the more efficient, that is pleasant and tolerant, if the children work well and do not demand individual attention; and meanwhile talk goes on, talk filled with the greatest assurance and the greatest lack of awareness, about *respect* for individual differences.

— Finally, the child is dispossessed of his fundamental right to decide his own future. Very early, the child is evaluated and classified. He is placed on an assembly line and very soon, sometimes even during the first years of his primary classes, the decision is taken whether he is fit for higher education or whether he should be directed toward the occupational sectors, with the full knowledge of what the various levels of schooling imply on the socio-economic, cultural and political scale. Not only will his future be decided by others, but the child and his parents will be helped to accept this: "It is nobody's fault if some are more gifted than others".

The school is not centered on the child, on the needs of the child; in fact the school has one objective only: to prepare the future worker, the man-tool needed by our society of competitive production and consumption. By its organization, by what it forces the child to experience, the school ensures the stability of society, it ensures the creation of faithful workers, submissive and resigned, who will be required to be efficient and profitable producers, but not autonomous persons, fulfilled and creative.

To mirror the Canadian Council for Childhood and Youth we too are concerned that in education it is still permissible to resort to corporal punishment. "This, says the Council, is a policy that must be abolished immediately . . . Our society does not tolerate physical threats as an appropriate means of treating other social relations and situation of a non-criminal nature. Why should physical threats be acceptable as a mean of controlling and disciplining children?" (1978, p. 128).

In ending this first critical analysis, I consider that the true idealists are those who refuse to see the reality of what the child experiences in school, and who prefer to keep to official texts and to the marvellous educational objectives they present. How can we for one moment believe that the school which does not respect the child as he is and his life as a child, will succeed in making of him "a free being, dynamic, creative, open to others, in quest of values and of the absolute?"

2. **Incoherence between objectives and programmes**

To ensure the development of the child's intelligence, that is of his ability to think, to discover, to judge and to create, very definite contents of learnings called school programs are imposed on each child. The adults determine in advance not only what the child must learn, but when he should learn it, the manner in which he must learn it, and how many minutes will be devoted to each subject. The student is atomized as the worker is atomized. Education is Taylorized as work is Taylorized. But it has been largely proved that, in the early stages of schooling as well as in the university, these content oriented approaches in which all knowledge is splittered into partitioned disciplines and into cleverly carved slices do not in the least correspond to the cognitive structures and do not at all encourage mental development. In maintaining an essentially mechanical and deterministic concept of learning, the results of some of the best psychological research is almost totally neglected. Furthermore the real and immediate needs of the child, his right to live in school as a child, are in fact disregarded.

3. **Incoherence between objective and evaluation**

The third incoherence is of major importance because it affects the teachers and parents as much as the children themselves and it has prevented and continues to prevent an in depth reform of the school system.

The objective of education, as we have said above, is the total development of the child on various levels: intellectual, physical, emotional, moral and social. Has, however, to your knowledge, the total development of the child or the adolescent ever been measured in the school? Has the human product of our schools ever been seriously and systematically evaluated? The only evaluation made in the school concerns the *performance* of the pupil, that is his output in various disciplines. Not only does a serious incoherence exist here, but such normative evaluations immediately place all children (independently of these supposedly respected individual differences) in a competitive position which is absolutely non-educational and nefarious. Such evaluation places the teachers themselves in a competitive position with each other, which very often prevents them from undertaking team work essential to the child's education: this constitutes at the teachers' level the same negation of individual difference observed in children. This system of evaluation, elaborated by various technocrats and docimologists, which has the advantage of being performed mechanically by computers, not only has no connection at all with the objectives of total development, but it constitutes, for the majority of children, a negation of their fundamental rights as unique persons and of their right of self-determination concerning their own future.

B) **The school is anachronistic and anti-democratic**

It is not enough to criticize the internal organization of the school, one must also understand in what way the school as an institution is anachronistic and anti-democratic.

The school is not only anachronistic in its concept of knowledge and learning, but mainly in its assumed mandate to prepare people for work and its unfitness to the changes occurring on the labour market and society in general. As long as the school seeks to prepare the future worker as he is presently defined by the working world, the school will continue to prepare workers with very little flexibility and with poor adaptation potential to the scientific and technological evolution the future will bring. It will continue to prepare citizens ill-suited to assume individually and collectively the powers of democratic management in the institutions, services and agencies of the State. From the point of view of economic productivity alone, the enormous investments made in the professional training of adolescents are far from being profitable.

Today's school is also anti-democratic because it denies respect to individual and collective differences.

If the school, already compulsory for each child, imposes on each (whatever his resources, limitations, origins, culture, values and own developmental rhythm) a uniform content, arranged in the same order and which must be covered within the same time limits, and if these children are evaluated in the same manner and placed in competition with each other, then this school denies the equal rights of each child.

If, furthermore, the school does not respect collective differences, local and regional differences, then this school serves only the individual promotion of 9 or 10% of the population instead of becoming a true instrument of collective advancement.

If, particularly regarding the children from underprivileged environments, the compensatory and curative measures applied seek only to make these children comparable and "competitive" in relation to the children from average and privileged environments instead of challenging the evaluation criteria and the marginalization and elimination mechanisms, then this school is anti-democratic because it maintains and reproduces social inequalities and injustices. Inequalities and injustices we are party to! And we are party to these inequalities and injustices if we refuse to commit ourselves to the transformation of institutions of learning and, above all, to the establishment of policies of social equality.

This is the school we have created for our children, a school which well expresses the incoherences and the contradictions of our values and our educational attitudes. Even if we say that we want our child to be happy and independent, what we chiefly demand from the school and from the State is that they guarantee the future of our child and provide his with a diploma and with employment. We are much more concerned with security than with freedom and innovations. (This reminds me of a school administrator who said with disarming gravity: "I am in favour of all innovations that have proved themselves"). Unconcern, the fear of change and of risk have caused most parents to capitulate and to entirely surrender their responsibilities to the school and its monopoly over the education of their children. No measure, not even the law passed for this purpose by the Government of Québec, has succeeded in eliciting from the parents real participation in school life.

Very often in fact, the parents do not grant any importance to what the child learns in school, as they themselves have forgotten most of it and are not the worse for it. The only thing they rate highly, even excessively, are the results, the marks and the famous report cards. The parents know, indeed, that it is only the marks which count and which keep the child in the race for diplomas. The children too know it, and they learn very soon to play the game and to cheat the system. Criticisms such as these are frightening, and many, out of a feeling of impotence when faced with the system, are eager to deny the obvious facts. Negation and flight are reactions that have become spontaneous with us, all the more because they are frequently praised!

Eda Le Shan in her *Complot contre l'enfance* (Conspiracy against childhood) points out that few adults would accept the work schedule imposed on children, and she adds: "It seems that all our efforts to provide the greatest possible number of advantages to our children have only succeeded in creating the most industrious, the most overworked, the most constrained and the most directed of all generations of young people, and, very likely the most unhappy. It seems that we have an urge to deprive childhood of a great part of what belongs to it in its own rights" (1977, p. 11).

IV. **Reactions of children and adolescents to our society**

It is important to take time now to indicate the manner in which children and adolescents react to our adult behavior and attitudes, whether it is at home, in the school or in society in general.

One often finds reassurance in saying that on the whole children do not seem so very unhappy. It is true, for instance, that the one who succeeds in school is happy; but what makes him happy? Is it the fact of learning, of developing as a child and of asserting his individuality? Is it above all the fact of being congratulated and given recognition by his fellow students and by adults? Or the fact of being able to accumulate school money or other rewards to which the school and the parents must often resort in order to maintain the motivation to study?

As for those who fail, who do not succeed in keeping up with the front runners (and of course they are actually in the majority), they live through a deep experience of devalorization and they feel the disappointment of their teachers and the anguish of their parents. Not only does this bring about an unacceptable loss of human resources, but a growing number of adolescents abandon school and sometimes even life itself.

Here, to illustrate, are a few remarks made by French adolescents which I quote:

Thierry, aged 16:
"I have the feeling of being unloved, I am a nonentity, but I am not a rotter."

Claire, aged 14:
"I have complexes and very low morale. I have everything to make a robot happy. I am alone and a bit desperate. The indifference of the world is hard to take."

Nadine, aged 15:
"At fifteen I was refused permission to leave my parents who beat me. As a solution I was offered to go to a home for delinquents."

And finally Christophe, aged 16:
"I blame the adults for wanting to "make" us in their own image. They force the young to accomplish things that do not interest them. All this so we would be like them. They think that they are models and would like us to accept their ideas. At the present time most young people are not at ease with themselves and with society. In fact, modern society is not suitable for children. It is a society of adults and of bucks" (Boulin et al. 1977, pp. 16-49).

Closer to us in Québec, a document of the Department of Education reveals that more than 30 000 young people abandon their studies every year and more than 40% of adolescents leave school without having completed their secondary education. Where are these young people who do not belong either to the school they have left, or to the working world which cannot hire them? When conflicts or brutal breaks occur in the home, who takes care of these young people? Where can they find the help they need? Is our responsibility as a State restricted to offering them free and compulsory education? It seems to me urgent to offer the young as soon as possible a whole network of diversified educational resources which will take into consideration the totality of the needs of these young people, needs that can vary according to the environment, the evolution and even the choice of the individual. To recognize the Rights of the Child means, not only to assure his protection, but also to guarantee the help he needs to become independent and responsible and to give a meaning to his life.

Many young people are today the victims of a tragic fate. And one feels almost ill at ease that it should be during this International Year of the Child that extremely revealing and disturbing statistics are beginning to be published.

In Canada, the suicide rate among young people has almost tripled during the last few years. In the State of California alone there are more than 5 000 suicides among adolescents each year. In Sweden, during 1978, there were 1 626 suicides among adolescents as compared to 1 073 deaths through traffic accidents. In Japan one speaks of a true "massacre of the innocents". There is actually an average of 3 suicides among adolescents each day; last January, during the examination period, 13 adolescents between the ages of 11 and 17 took their own life. Germany holds in this respect a sad world record: in the last year, among the 200 000 adolescents who failed in school, 517 committed suicide.

The testimony of Xavier, aged only 12, is distressing:

> "Housing developments and school, and nastiness, and wickedness, this is all that is being offered to us. Thank you. I don't want it. If I had the courage I would kill myself, but in addition to everything they have turned me into a coward" (Boulin et al., 1977, p. 26).

These remarks do not fit in very well with the setting of our Congress, but I would like us to stop turning a blind eye on these realities, I would like us to stop finding reassurance in being told that these are exceptional cases.

Furthermore I wish we would stop believing that marital separations and divorces do not have the ill-effects on children that could have been feared, that in our changing society children can change parents as one changes buses or lodgings. For this means that we forget what the child lives through during the long incubation period of a divorce. It means that we believe that the child accepts unreservedly the good reasons and the explanations given to him by his parents. It means disregarding the reactions of the child at the loss of one of his parents and the adjustment to be made by the parent who finds himself alone or with a new partner. It means disregarding the heartbreak of the child who goes, depending on the days of the week, from one parent to the other, while he still wants to love and see them both.

We also react in the same way to the statements of those who want to convince us that the problems of contemporary society call for such new solutions as: free abortion on demand of unwanted children, the sterilization of handicapped adolescents, drugs for the sick who are troublesome or ask too many questions, euthanasia for the old or the sick for whom no one wants to care. And why not recognize in the near future the right to suicide? If these are the only realistic solutions for our time, we should try to understand how our most developed and industrialized societies have reached this point. How will we otherwise build a society more reverend of life and, above all, concerned with the quality of life?

Conclusion

Vaneighem already wrote: "A society that abolishes all venture, makes the abolition of this society the only possible venture." Joël de Rosnay says more positively: "All criticism, all fundamental challenge of a certain type of society and of the scale of values attached to it must result in a new undertaking" (1975, p. 275).

It is within the perspective of this search for new social relations, new life styles and new relations between the individual and the environment that we must place the various innovative undertakings emerging in our different environments or countries.

I am thinking, for instance, of these parents of Bremen in Germany who banded together to demand and obtain that marks be abolished in the primary grades, and that timetables and programs be reduced.

I am also thinking of the action undertaken by the Confédération syndicale des Familles de France in order to obtain that the school administration consider parents as *adult* and *responsible* people and recognize their rights to guide their children.

In our midst too initiatives have been taken expressing the will of a number of citizens to get actively involved, to cooperate and to reclaim their authority and their responsibilities. Although often modest in scope, projects based in the community and in self-management are created, as much in the fields of work, health and leisure as in the fields of housing and consumption.

A number of analysts, and Jacques Grand'Maison in particular, see in these tendencies the emergence of a new era and of a democratic revolution. Citizens in ever growing number refuse alienation and programming, they refuse to become the prisoners of techno-bureaucracy and, above all, they refuse a society in which man has ceased to exist.

The same signs and the same hopes appear in the field of education, particularly with the difficult introduction of pluralism into the Québec school system. Some parents and educators have, as a matter of fact, devised among themselves a basic ideological consensus and have acquired a school which they themselves will define, manage and evaluate.

These schools, by allowing the child to live as a child in school, by committing parents and teachers to a joint venture in continuing education, by being open to the entire educational resources of their environment, become genuine tools for collective promotion. It seems important to us that such schools be given more help and cease to be regarded as marginal institutions burdened with constant care about their survival.

There is urgency as well for the creation of new services for our adolescents within the framework of a Global Policy for childhood still to be elaborated. Recent inquiries concerning the values and aspirations of adolescents* have shown that it is precisely among the adolescents who have trouble adjusting to the school and to present day society that we find most of those who want to give a new meaning to their lives. Contrary to the majority of their colleagues, better resigned, more withdrawn and eager for consumption and comfort, these adolescents are eager for responsible freedom and for new social involvements. These adolescents need to know that, in this Congress and before the end of this International Year which has too much neglected them, there also are adults who share the same aspirations and who are ready to work with them to bring about a more human society.

Finally, this International Year of the Child will have given a great deal to us, the adults, as well, if in rediscovering the meaning of the child we rediscover also the meaning of life and of its creative and liberating energy, if in seeking with coherence and courage new, more solid social relations and new life styles we succeed in making of the home, the school and the city, for ourselves and for our children, genuine settings for life.

* See, for instance, the research presented by Philippe Turcotte to the Congress of the Association of Social Service Centres of Québec under the title: De John Travolta à Jésus-Christ (April 1979).

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LECTURE 2

Family speech conditioned by external influences and social and societal impact

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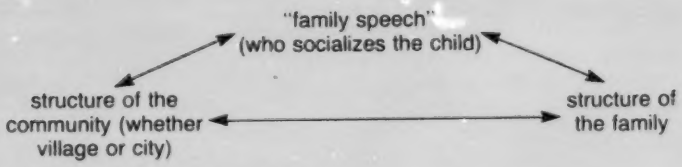
The history of "family speech" is the history of sentiment. To be able to write it, we must distinguish between the explicit text of dialogue within the family, and the implicit subtext. This paper is about the latter, about the subtext of family discourse as a reflection of the emotional "style" prevailing within the larger society.

Note that this implicit subtext changes in accordance with the rhythms of social change. So the question is, what may we learn about those larger social changes from shifts in the nature of "family speech"? What do shifts in the intimacy of family dialogue tell us about the larger upheavals in a society's "emotional style"? And if, as today, the nature of "family speech" suddenly lurches in a new direction, what does that reveal about where the family itself is heading?

Answering these questions is a huge agenda for a short paper. Let's start by clarifying what we're talking about.

The basis of family speech is the extent to which the parents themselves, as opposed to other social institutions, are responsible for their children's socialization. And I shall argue that the last three hundred years have seen great changes in the locus of socialization. Now, two other variables as well influence the nature and locus of socialization: the structure of the family doing the socializing, and the structure of the community within which this socialization and these families are situated.

Historically, the structure of the family has drifted from "traditional" to "sentimental nuclear" to "couple", and we shall see in a moment what those terms mean. Historically, the structure of the community has changed from "the little community" of smalltowners and peasants, to the "industrial city" to the "bureaucratic city". This is a lot of defining. The specific point I want to make is that these three variables — "family speech", family structure, and community structure — exist in a kind of "triangular" relationship. And it is changes in the nature of this triangle over the last three hundred years that represent the subject of this paper.



A change at one corner of the triangle will immediately echo as a change at the other two corners. It is analytically useful to consider these three variables together because they are closely interlinked, and because the three have affected more profoundly than any other circumstance — even more profoundly than "relationship to the mode of production" or "educational system" — how the child turns out. And that, in the International Year of the Child, is what interests us.

This triangle has underdone three major phases over the last few hundred years: a "traditional" phase which lasted approximately from the Protestant Reformation to the mid-nineteenth century, a "modern" phase, which has had a much shorter duration because even now it is coming to an end, and a "postmodern" phase, which has begun during the last twenty years and which, I believe, will represent the dominant pattern of child socialization of the future.

Traditional Western Society

Let us not confuse eighteenth-century France with Bali. Both are "traditional societies", as these terms are loosely used. Yet premodern Europe was vastly different from the Third World countries of, say, 1930. And we must accustom ourselves to the special characteristics of European communities and families during the Old Regime.

At one angle of the traditional triangle we have the small, closely-knit communities of burghers in Germany or the peasant village of southern France. They live close to the margin of existence, and have therefore, special rules for human relationships: Don't follow your heart but your *intérêt* (family self-interest) in chosing a mate. Let the force of tradition rather than personal choice guide you in making basic life decisions like occupation, the number of children you have, and the age when you marry. All these vital decisions must have the stamp of collective approval before they crystallize in the individual's mind.

The families which these small, conservative communities create to enforce their collective will are patriarchal. That means authority resides with the father, or *Hausmeister*, a German phrase showing that the husband is master of all who live under his roof, wife, children, servants, apprentice, craftsmen working in his craftship, and so forth. The logic of patriarchy is clear: a strong hand is required to ensure that young daughters will not have sexual intercourse before marriage, saddling the community with bastard children and sullying the honor of the family. A *Hausmeister* is required to ensure that people don't marry before they're supposed to (i.e. not until a plot of land or a licence to practice a trade has become available); a *Hausmeister* is needed to guarantee that those younger siblings for whom there is no dowry or inheritance will stay around on the farm as agricultural laborers.

But what interests us most is the impact of this patriarchal family style upon dialogues within the family, especially upon parent-child relations.

I wish to make two points:

1. The task of socializing the children fell much more to the surrounding community than to the immediate family. "Intellectually, children are left to themselves and to the dear Lord", wrote an ethnographer studying a Wurttemberg peasant community at the beginning of the twentieth century[1]. In Paris, city of villages, at the end of the eighteenth century, "the notion of family intimacy, which had started to develop among the upper classes, had no meaning in the lives of those accused [of stealing food]". When they were arrested rarely did they try to justify themselves as having to feed hungry children. Living in minimal quarter, "the greater part of their daily lives takes place outside the home, in working or seeking work."[2]

2. Even small infants in traditional Europe received little parenting. One doctor wrote in 1851 of the South German village of Grossbottwar that after the mothers had gotten up from their lying-in beds, they returned immediately to their fields and vineyards, "locking up the children in the dirty, nauseatingly smelly, hut and nursing the infants only after coming home."[3] These testimonies of parental inattentiveness could be multiplied many times over in the ethnographic sources for traditional German and French society. "As soon as the children learn to crawl," wrote another German ethnographer, living in a village in Baden, "they're left entirely to themselves. In the morning the mother dressed them quickly, gives them the once-over with a damp cloth . . . combs their hair, and lets them take off. They explore on their own the farmyard and the vicinity and find their own entertainment. From time to time the mother checks up, just to be sure they're alright. If they're hungry they show up at the kitchen. Meals are not a special event. There are no regular meal times for them."[4] Martine Segalen comments on the lack of proverbs about mother-child relations in traditional France.[5] And in divorce suits late in the eighteenth century in the Cambrai district, squabbles over the custody of children were rare. The women were generally quite happy to surrender their children to husbands.[6]

Even in the New World, where one generally encounters much stronger family emotionality than in the old, parental interest in the socializing of children seemed remarkably slack. "When asked how she could elope with her lover and leave her children behind, Tabitha Lufkin said she never thought about them." Susanna Chambers, hearing her small daughter reveal to a neighbour her presence in the bedroom, where she was with a lover, "unhook'd the door, and called her daughter little Bitch and said she would sacrifice

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1. Maria Bidlingmaier, *Die Bäuerin in zwei Gemeinden Württembergs* (Stuttgart, 1918; Staatswiss. Diss Tübingen), p. 174.

2. Arlette Farge, *Delinquance et criminalité: Le Vol d'aliments à PARIS AU XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Plon, 1974), pp. 168-171.

3. R. Köhler, "Ueber den Einfluss der Lebensverhältnisse auf die Sterblichkeit der Kinder", *Medicinisches Correspondenz-Blatt des würtemberg ischen ärztlichen Vereins*, 21 (1851), 218-219.

4. Marta Wohlgemuth, *Die Bäuerin in zwei badischen Gemeinden* (Karlsruhe 1913), p. 126.

5. "Le mariage, l'amour et les femmes dans les proverbes populaires français," *Ethnologie française*, 6 (1976), 83.

6. L. Kaczmarek and G. Savelon, *Problèmes matrimoniaux dans . . . Cambrai, 1670-1762* (Paris: Hachette microfiche, 1973), p. 116.

her if she did not get away. Upon which the Child went up Stairs crying."[7] What discipline took place within the household was often delegated by the parents to non-family members. Among farm families in Mecklenburg, for example, "the right to punish the farmer's children was expressly assigned to the senior stable hand *(Grossknecht)*."[8]

The larger point, therefore, is that in the traditional family parents simply did not see the socialization of children as a family responsibility. There was no collectively-imposed task to guarantee instant life. And for those children that did survive infancy, the parents' only responsibility lay in giving them a strong sense of lineage, which means making the children aware that they were bearers of a family name, or of a certain farm that must be passed down across the ages. But the inculcating of an actual "moral roadmap" into the children, teaching them the rules of the social game, how one addressed elderly women in the street or should help support the poor remained the province of the surrounding community.

The traditional family did have one specific socializing responsibility which the modern family would lose: the father's socializing his sons into the world of *work*. (It is my impression that the community of women, in the form of *veillées* and *Spinnstuben,* was much more responsible than the mother herself for socializing *daughters* to work.) In nineteenth-century Languedoc the son "starts following his father around" at the age of seven. He does small jobs, like guiding the team down an easy road, cleaning out the stable, curry-combing the cows, gleaning in the vineyards and fields. The father teaches him particular tasks; first through imitation the son learns them, repeating the essential gestures of the job: leading the livestock, holding the plow and the scythe, loading the farmwagon." What these observers are describing, in other words, is an apprenticeship, a "compagnonnage where every moment the father is led to infuse a personality into the child."[9] But the dialogue through which this kind of work socialization took place was abrupt and brutal. If the child responds with too much "dawdling and backtalk" ("Verzögerung und Widerrede"), it would, in a Baden Village, get a couple of slaps from the mother. As supreme judicial instance the father appears with a stick: "If you don't learn (the job) the first time, we'll do it twice; if you don't learn it the second time we'll do it three times. If you still haven't learned it, the stick takes over."[10]

To sum up, parent-child dialogue remained at a minimum in the traditional western family. It was a gruff exchange marked by brutality and oriented strictly along task lines. The little community needed urgently to ensure that certain jobs would be done well, that personal choice would be reduced to a minimum and that tradition would provide a ready-made life trajectory for most children, and so the patriarchal father was delegated with making sure that the subordinate members of his household went along. In the small town of Schwandorf one observer spoke, late in the eighteenth-century, of "badly raised children, who already at four have learned to repeat the father's curses of the mother."[11] Thus the triangle of little community, traditional family, and minimal, abrupt "family language" remained intact.[12]

The making and unmaking of the modern family.

The physical setting now changes. The social center of gravity shifts from the small towns and villages, where most of the population of Europe once lived, to the large city.

Thus we encounter "The Child in the City". Two points should be made: (1) Even for children who lived in previous centuries in cities, the urban experience was different from what it would be in the post-1850 "industrial city", because traditional cities were much more a congeries of neighbourhoods, a cluster of "urban villages", than later would be the case. So from the viewpoint of the child urban life in the last hundred years has become a *qualitatively* different experience. (2) A vastly greater proportion of children would be raised in cities after 1850 than before. So in sheer quantitative terms, growing up would have been largely a small town and rural experience in the centuries before 1850, an urban experience thereafter.

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7. Nancy F. Cott, "Eighteenth-Century Family and Social Life Revealed in Massachusetts Divorce Records," *Journal of Social History*, 10 (1976), 29.

8. Karl Baumgarten, "Die Tischordnung im alten mecklenburgischen Bauernhaus", *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde*, 11 (1965), 9.

9. Daniel Fabre and Jacques Lacroix, *La vie quotidienne des paysans du Languedoc au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1973), p. 195.

10. Wohlgemuth, *Bauerin Baden*, p. 128.

11. Christoph Raphael Schleis von Löwenfeld, *Medizinische Ortsbeschreibung der Stadt Schwandorf im Nordgau* (Sulzbach, 1799), p. 27.

12. I am indebted to the magisterial work of Philippe Ariès for many of the insights in the above section. *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien régime* (Paris: Seuil, new ed. 1973).

The city is a quintessentially "modern" setting, and it comes as no surprise that a corresponding family style, which I call the "sentimental nuclear family" (as opposed to the "structural" nuclear family so beloved to Peter Laslett) flourished. The "family speech" of this new family would be quite different because patterns of socializing children were to change enormously. Thus a new triangle arises: the metropolis, the nuclear family and close parent-child ties marked by sentiment.

What had caused the change? Difficult to say. I have elsewhere argues that the spread of marketplace liberalism dissolved the close small town and village ethos were guilds or city officials ensured stability by administering the economy and by keeping land off the commodity market.[13] But as the new economic system of marketplace capitalism displaced the old "moral" economy, the willingness of individuals to subordinate themselves to "patriarchs" and to other forms of domination decreased correspondingly. Pursuing one's self-interest in the marketplace quickly became understood as the right to pursue one's "sentimental" self-interest as well.

For various complicated reasons, much of this new pursuit of "happiness" would take place in cities. The sentimental nuclear family goes hand in hand with the large city, for two reasons: (1) because the external social environment is so inhospitable that people are naturally driven to seek refuge in the family, hence the title of Christopher Lasch's recent book, *Haven in a Heartless World.*[14] (2) Because, for independent reasons having to do with "Capitalism", individuals were inclined to seek out close affectionate ties to others, abandoning their previous highly instrumental ties, in order to find "happiness".

The timing of this shift was enormously variable. In England it began in the eighteenth century.[15] In some parts of France young lads working away from home began around 1850 to stop sending back their wages to their fathers. Young men generally started hanging onto what they earned once they were 18 or 20, to use it later to set themselves up. In agriculture cadet sons began demanding their share of the farm paid out to them by the older, inheriting son, rather than staying on to work for him free. "All that," writes historian Alain Corbin, "corresponds uncontestably to a loosening of family bonds as young men, scarcely emerged from adolescence, start to think about their own personal destinies."[16] In Berlin a half century later skilled engineering workers "who let their wives work were interested in affording a second bedroom, so that they could sleep apart from their children. This suggest a new concern for privacy with one's wife, quite possibly a greater sexual intimacy, along with a greater appreciation of the children as human beings."[17]

Of special interest to us here is the "family speech" of these new-style urban families. It was far gentler, more rinsed in affection and fondness, and implied far greater commitment than was family speech among traditional peasants (who, for example, simply forgot about kin who moved away). Consider, for one thing, that children started staying around home longer, rather than leaving to work outside until their own inheritance came due. "Young people must have lived at home", writes Michael Katz in a study of the new industrial city of Hamilton in Canada, "at least partly because they wanted to."[18] Hence children were exposed for a longer period of their lives to parental influence.

Consider secondly that in the modern family outside influence counted for much less than in the traditional. The surrounding community was much less able to reach into the family circle and discipline miscreants, or pluck away family members for collective activities. The whole panoply of St. John's Day bonfires and village Easter egg hunts which had taken the traditional "jeunesse" from the household began to crumble in the general putting-to-the-sack of folklore that began around 1850.[19] By the end of the Second World War residents in the industrial village of Nouville, when asked "Whom do you see most often?" would respond: "Well you know. We've got family."[20] Thus children were far more at the mercy of their parents' socializing impulses than before.

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13. *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), ch. 7.

14. (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

15. See most recently Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), *passim*.

16. Alain Corbin, *Archaisme et modernite en Limousin au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Marcel Rivière, 1975), 1, 285.

17. Peter N. Stearns, *Lives of Labor: Work in a Maturing Industrial Society* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1975), p. 277.

18. "Youth and Early Industrialization in a Canadian City", *American Journal* of Sociology, 84 supplement (1978), p. 116.

19. On this, generally see André Varagnac, *Civilisation traditionnelle et genres de vie* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1948).

20. Lucien Bernot and René Blancard, *Nouville: un village français* (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1953), p. 269.

Yet above and beyond, parents were autonomously deciding to socialize the children more intensively and with a greater concern for citizenship and morality. Those changes are part of the larger revolution in romance and sentiment I have elsewhere described. Mothers became far more concerned for their children's health, for exemple, and much more devastated by the death of a small child than previously.[21] Nouville mothers would often call the doctor for trifling little problems, whereas traditional mothers and fathers almost never called a doctor for any infant affliction, however grave.[22] Brutality lessened within the family, and again to take Nouville as an example, cajoling children to behave with money or bonbons took the place of corporal punishment.[23] Nancy Tomes has recently described a dramatic decline in family brutality in the second half of the nineteenth-century among the working classes of London. "In 1890 working-class women were far less likely to experience physical violence at the hands of a man than they were in 1840."[24]

The new nuclear family therefore gave us, in the years 1850, our classic picture of family speech in the modern world. The parents are endlessly patient with the children, attempt to explain to them rationally why they should follow rules: the family spend great amounts of time together and generally looms larger than any other agency in the children's socialization. This is such a familiar picture of family speech that it may come to non-historians as a bit of a shock that families have not always been this way. It comes as even more of a shock to realize that in the last 20 years we have been losing this pattern of family speech as the sentimental nuclear family gives way to the "post-modern" family.

Towards the post-modern family.

Consider how the triangle of family-community-family speech has begun to shift anew.

The "community" variable. The setting within which the family and its dialogues are encadred has begun to move from the industrial city to the bureaucratic city, which is to say, from a giant central place which is an aggregate of social classes, each having a solidarity and organization of its own, to a giant central place which is merely an aggregate of individuals, bureaucratically administered. This means that peer-group pressures on families to stay together are correspondingly less, and the stability of the nuclear family declines.

The "family form" variable. A new style of family life is now replacing the sentimental nuclear family: the "couple" family. Responsible for its rise, in part, is the breathtaking increase in family in stability because a distinguishing characteristic of the new style family is its tendency to fly apart. But other factors are at work as well. Witness the growing eroticization of the entire social order, which is expressed as the sexualizing of emotional relationships and which entails a corresponding hiving-off of the couple into a little emotional cocoon of their own. At work also is a vibrant sub-culture of adolescence, operating in the margin of the bureaucratic city, which plucks teenagers from the house and exposes them to far more powerful socializing influences in the parking lots of the fast-food chains. The result of these various forces is that the essential emotional unit within the family becomes the couple, the man and the woman. In the bureaucratic city the support and self-definition which a lineage can provide become irrelevant, and so the couple cuts itself off from lateral links to relatives and from its past. And for reasons just explained the couple begins to cut loose the adolescent children as well, who after puberty enter an emotional world of their own, indeed *leaving* home much more often than twenty years ago. Thus in the post-modern world we find ourselves contemplating the "couple-family" as the soon-to-be majority form of family life.

The "family speech" variable. Because these changes are so fresh, little systematic work is being done on patterns of family interaction from the perspective "How are things changing", and instead scholars who write for trade publications like the *Journal of Marriage and the Family* continue to cite studies from the 1940s and 50s as though they were somehow indicative of today's reality. They aren't. As the recent work of Jennings and Niemi has shown, patterns of socialization are changing. In political socialization, opinions of peer group and media have triumphed over family and school.[25] Marie Winn's study of television points to a tremendous decline in the portion of the moral and intellectual "roadmap" that children receive from

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21. See *Making of Modern Family*, ch. 5.

22. Bernot, *Nouville*, p. 117.

23. *Ibid*, p. 122.

24. "'A Torrent of Abuse': Crimes of Violence between Working-class Men and Women in London, 1840-1875", *Journal of Social History*, 11 (1978), p. 342.

25. M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, *The Political Character of Adolescence: The influence of Families and Schools* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

their parents.[26] And such scholars as Christopher Lasch and Russell Jacoby have pinned the tail on that part of the donkey where it belongs, the "helping professions."[27] These scholars tend to miss the enormous contribution that being sheared away from class ties makes, but it is true that in the bureaucratic city the ability of government programs to intervene in family life is vastly augmented. Children's Aid Societies and welfare relief to 14 years old who decide to leave home have decreased the family's ability to control the lives of its adolescents. And so the adolescents drift away.

This new fissure between parents and children may sound like a return to the traditional family, where, as we have seen, the influence of parents upon the child's socialization was also minimal. But it's not. In traditional society it was the ensemble of villagers who picked up the task of child socializing, the elderly women who would give children a whack on the head if they did'nt say "Good day" properly, or the collective surveillance exerted at village dances and fetes. One has only, for example, to read accounts of *carneval* to realize how thick-meshed was the network of control running through the most apparently "abandoned" of events.[28]

If "family speech" in the last 20 years has become a cool stand-off between the generations, if parents have come to realize that their own wishes are largely irrelevant in whether their children smoke dope or whether they learn geometry properly, it is not because some kind of surrounding "community" has taken the task from our shoulders. It is because the task of adolescent socialization has now been assumed by a handful of media directors in New York and by a churning, restless adolescent subculture over which we have no control. And so parents resign themselves to the loss of the solidarity across the generations that distinguished the nuclear families in which they grew up, and in which their own parents grew up. Instead they withdraw silently into such consolation for the loss of their children as the contemporary relationship might offer.

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26. Marie Winn, *The Plug-In Drug* (New York: Viking, 1977), esp. 105-115.

27. Christopher Lasch, *The Culture of Narcissism: American Life in an Age of Diminishing Expectations* (New York: Norton, 1978); this argument is made even more forcefully in Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World*; Russell Jacoby, Social Amnesia: *A Critique of Conformist Psychology from Adler to Laing* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1975).

28. See for example, Arnold Van Gennep, *Manuel de folklore français contemporain*, 1 (3): *Ceremonies periodiques cycliques* (Paris: Picard, 1947), 868-1146.

LECTURE 3

Special needs of special children

Dr. Stella Chess, Professor of Child Psychiatry, New York University Medical School

In considering the special needs of special children, our concern at this moment is meeting their needs individually as well as in the context of the family and the community. There are children who are special because of physical defect: blindness, deafness, neuromotor abnormalities, failure of organ systems to function adequately. Here we must also consider those with mental retardation, with childhood autism, with brain injury and the various behavioral difficulties this can cause. With such a range of special problems, needs will differ depending upon the nature, severity and multiplicity of defect. Problems may be acute and amenable to quick definite solution, or episodic with [illegible]odic crises, or chronic and requiring long term concern and planning.

The needs of the children cannot be addressed without considering the family setting. Some families live in urban locales where special services can be found while others are in rural areas where appropriate services are few and far away. Some parents have the sophistication and financial resources to make use of appropriate care early and continuously. Others have neither the special knowledge nor the means to negotiate a system replete with regulations, forms, and special terminology. Socio-economic status in itself confers options regarding the amount of living space available, the safety to move about in the neighborhood, the health hazards present, and the level of educational opportunities. Each of these will be modified in terms of the class, culture and country to which the family belongs. Such factors are important for the non-handicapped child. For the special child with special needs, all these factors are magnified in importance.

Once one moves from the family to the wider community the issue becomes more complex, for the human environment is not merely the provider of service, it is often also the source of the problem. Defects in children can have their origin before birth, during the birth process, the neonatal period, and during childhood. At all periods the same sources of risk may be present, but their consequences will differ in degree and kind at different developmental periods.

In considering the special needs of special children, our first emphasis, as always, should be on prevention. We know enough about some of the pathogenic factors to make serious programs of prevention possible. These issues can be considered in terms of genetic, prenatal, paranatal and postnatal influences. I will not attempt to give an exhaustive compilation but will cite sufficient examples to indicate the importance and feasibility of such preventive programs at sequential developmental stages.

Genetic

Genetic faults that have been carried through many generations have been identified as causes of certain defects. Hemophilia and Down's Syndrome are two of the best known of this type. We now know that an additional cause of genetic faults may be environmental. Chemicals used in industry and agriculture, radiation from nuclear wastes and from indiscriminate use of X-rays can create sterility and genetic mutations in both men and women. Some of these genetic consequences of environmental pollution are incompatable with life — they will result in abortion, stillbirth, or neonatal death. Others, although not lethal, result in structural damage to the organs as they develop in utero.

Prenatal

In the prenatal period, when cell divisions and specialization into organ systems is proceeding, vulnerability to damaging influences is high. These make their impact through the mother — what she ingests, breathes, absorbs through the skin. Maternal malnourishment — a world — wide scourge — is a potent cause of danger to the baby. Under circumstances of extreme starvation of the mother, the child will have smaller and fewer body and brain cells when born. With poor quantity and quality of food during pregnancy, the risk of complications of pregnancy show a sharp rise — prematurity, small for date babies, malformation. Chemicals that make their way into the mother's blood stream and through the placenta to the foetus can create not only anomalies of body structure but also biochemical faults and blood diseases such as childhood leukemias. Such chemicals are placed in the environment through chemical industrial wastes, pesticides, nuclear wastes, and even medications such as Thalidomide. The dramatic impact of the thalidomide tragedy in which the ingestion of a sleeping medication during pregnancy resulted in babies born with faulty or absent long bones, reflected the suddenness of its appearance and the initial mystery of

its cause. Other chemical dangers now proliferating can have other morbid effects, not all of which are yet clear.

Infectious processes, especially those due to viruses, have now been established as a danger to the unborn child. Rubella or German Measles, is the model for this class of etiology of malformation in the newborn. A rubella infection in the mother, although a mild disease for her, has the capability of passing through the placenta and causing an active rubella infection of the foetus. If this does occur, the organ systems then forming will be in danger of failure of proper progression of development.

Further, since the foetus does not have the immune mechanisms to battle the virus, it acts in effect as a culture medium and keeps the virus alive. Hence all organ systems which form from the time of infection onward are also in danger of malformation. Such children may be born deaf, cataracts may be present in their eyes at birth or form within days or weeks, cardiac malformations and/or neuromuscular abnormalities are also often to be found. Abnormalities of the blood and immune systems may be so great as to result in neonatal death through purpura or infection. Indeed, almost all organ systems may be involved. It has been established that other viral infections of the mother may also have dangerous consequences for the developing foetus.

When a known pathogen attacks the developing foetus, the dilemma of the family is whether to terminate this pregnancy through abortion and have the opportunity for a subsequent healthy infant, or to go to term with the probability that the child will go through life handicapped. Those who decide for others that the foetus must come to term, must face the implications that the right to life includes the right to a life that is worth living. Society has as yet not made a commitment to make this come true.

Paranatal

The birth process itself has hazards and these are greater for the neonate with immature lungs, heart and other organs. Anoxia is the greatest danger at this time. In urban centers with sophisticated medical equipment, many babies who previously would not have survived can now live. For some, the intensive care prevents anoxia and brain damage; for others, who might otherwise have died, anoxia does occur and mental retardation, neuromotor defect, behavioral abnormalities may result. Studies following babies at risk who do survive have shown that as many as 80% later function normally. It is a comment on our environment and its selective effects that of those who do not function normally, the vast majority come from the lower socio-economic class. To the risk factors of difficult pre and neonatal life are added the disadvantages of poor nutrition, high exposure to health hazards, and paucity of specialized services.

Postnatal

In the postnatal period all previously mentioned hazards can create handicap. Malnutrition — marasmus and Kwashiorkor as its most flagrant forms — can leave permanent damage both physically and intellectually. Environmental toxins of chemical and radiation origin, infections, bodily assaults through accident or battering — can leave children deaf, blind, with motor defects, mentally retarded, brain damaged. The kind of insult, its area of damage, and the remedial measures taken will decide the degree and type of special needs which remain through childhood and often through life.

Intervention in the postnatal period

In considering what effective tools are available to cope with the special needs of special children under a variety of circumstances — sociocultural, intellectual, temperamental, as well as the variety of handicap — I am using as my framework for discussion the concept of goodness of fit between organism (child) and the environment in which he lives. This interactionist view demands that behavioral attributes always are to be considered in their reciprocal relationship with other characteristics of the organism as well as in their interactions with environmental opportunities, demands, stresses. This process produces consequences which may modify or change behavior. The new behavior will then affect the influence of recurrent and new features of the environment.

Let me give an illustration from two longitudinal studies of temperament starting from birth, one involving 136 children of middle and upper middle class; the other 95 children of working class Puerto Rican parentage. Both groups contained approximately the same proportion of children with high activity level. There was by age 5, a very different outcome although in both groups the degree of activity was within the normal range. In the middle class group, none of the children developed behavior disorder, while in the Puerto Rican group, high activity level was prominently associated with behavior problems. Parents of each study population were child centered, stability of family was approximately the same for each. The explanation

appeared to lie in the goodness of fit between the environmental needs of the high activity children in the one case and poorness of fit in the other. In the middle class families, as these youngsters' tendencies to move frequently and at high speed became prominent, families typically moved from city apartments to suburban areas where there was room to play actively and in safety. Spacious backyards, playrooms indoors, made it possible for these children to have adequate movement without interfering with other family members or being the recipients of disapproval. The Puerto Rican parents did not have financial resources to move to larger quarters, mothers with smaller children and many household tasks could not afford the time to sit in playgrounds, and it was not safe to play in the city street. With little space and many people, these children's normal but inconvenient activity levels became the focus of negative interaction; constantly admonished to be still and unable to do so, the poorness of fit and negative interaction escalated until they had indeed become disobedient children with poor impulse control. With augmenting behavior problem, parental disapproval also increased with each new stage influencing the further interaction in a negative manner.

In contrast, another temperamental quality proved to have better goodness of fit within the Puerto Rican households than in those of the middle class. Irregularity of sleep rhythm fitted poorly within middle class patterns in which bedtime is set according to age and parents assume that the evening hours are their own to be spent in adult pursuits. A child whose sleepiness is unpredictable became frequently the focus of a nightly bedtime battle. Parental scolding and disapproval evolved into nighttime fears, night awakening, interrupting parents sleep further. Such increase in sleep problems resulted in a continuing vicious cycle. In contrast, Puerto Rican working class parents do not customarily expect young children to have specified sleep times. They are part of the family life whether at home in the evening or visiting family members or neighbors, thus, by the age of 5 there had been no sleep problems occurring in the Puerto Rican group.

These illustrations have been given regarding organismically normal children. Where physically, mentally and behaviorally handicapped children are concerned, the concept of goodness or poorness of fit becomes even more important. First, some comments on physically handicapped youngsters.

Where physically handicapped children are concerned, the general tendency is to regard them as normal children minus certain abilities. Thus their accomplishments are measured in terms of normative milestones, with failures of accomplishment all along the way. However, many of the child development students and educators of handicapped children have been seeing these children from another point of view: that of the development and interactive stimulation of the abilities that are present. It has long been known that the human brain has enormous plasticity. Injuries to brain tissue early in infancy typically demonstrate that intact areas can often take over functions ordinarily centered in the areas destroyed; with increasing age, the ability to re-organize function diminishes. Both such knowledge and experience with the development of blind, deaf, and/or motorically handicapped children has shown that, given the opportunity and effective training in using alternative pathways, handicapped children have a greater capacity to arrive at competence than when coerced to use the same routes as non handicapped children. When the new sets of expectations are used as goals, and stimulation focuses on abilities that are present, we find better outcomes.

A number of investigators have, for example, observed that blind babies — when compared in their early years with sighted babies — are retarded in development. They appear socially retarded, fail to sit, stand and walk at the same ages as sighted babies. Yet, many have "caught up" adaptively and motorically by age 4 or 5. The normal human infant is a social being from the moment of birth, and in the early weeks and months, one measure of the social growth of the sighted baby is his use of his eyes to study people, his body, and his world of objects. If one conceptualizes the blind baby in a deficit model, it would appear that other socialization experiences that substitute for visual interaction with the environment can provide at best only partial compensation.

Yet, from the viewpoint of a plastic brain capable of forming many interconnecting pathways, the blind infant has available touch, sound, proprioceptive and haptic skills. His time table will depend on the ability of these skills to mature and acquire cross ability integrative function. Such special children require special stimuli from the environment to provide a goodness of fit, to handle them consonantly with their capacities and to foster the development of resourcefulness to explore and master their world. Under this set of interactional circumstances, optimum social and task mastery can emerge.

For the severely and profoundly deaf child, the question of goodness or poorness of fit is to be seen in the controversial philosophies of oralism and total communication. Oralism not merely seeks to make the deaf child fully competitive in the hearing and speaking world, it also assumes that abstract thought is dependent on verbal communication of ideas. In contrast, total communication assumes that any and all modes of communicating feelings and ideas are appropriate. It believes that early exposure to manual as well as oral

language will provide deaf children with more equal opportunity to comprehend the nuances of people's actions, motivations, and ideas. Sign, an important component of Total Communication, is seen as possessing all the attributes of a language, with a clear structure and grammar. Total Communication thus makes possible argumentation, explanation, banter, humor, whereas limitation to oral language for the severely and profoundly deaf child, with a few remarkable exceptions, does result in serious communication deficit, and in poorness of fit. Consonance of training and education would seem to require viewing these youngsters in terms of the abilities they possess and not as perpetual "minuses".

The motorically limited child would seem, when viewed from the normative child development model, to be at great disadvantage. The physically intact child develops by combining sensory awareness of his world with manipulation of it. In the deficit model it appears not possible for such a child to understand his environment fully. Athetosis, spasticity, muscular atonicity, phocomelia — all interfere with sensori-motor experience. The non handicapped parent finds it difficult indeed to devise innovative techniques to provide environmental goodness of fit, especially under circumstances of shock and grief. Nevertheless, the objective experience is that such children can, given the opportunity, use the capacities they have to gain comprehension of their environment to the degree commensurate with intellectual capacity.

In the above illustrations, the thesis has been that if children who are special by virtue of physical handicap — have their special needs met by appropriately tailored program, their intact capacities, strengths, talents will not be unduly compromised as well, without such plans, in an environment that fails to provide appropriate interactional opportunities, the deleterious effect of the physical problem has added to it educational, social incompetences that are avoidable.

Mentally retarded children are especially prone to be looked on only in terms of minus. In a situation of poorness of fit, without a program that stimulates their abilities, they are exposed primarily to failure and resultant demoralization and behavior disorder are at higher rate than in non-retarded groups.

Within the framework of such varying handicaps, each with its own characteristics, it is still necessary to bear in mind that different developmental periods bring special needs. Throughout all age periods, human development strives to accomplish two primary tasks: mastery of work skills and mastery of socialization skills. Thus the human infant, whether deaf, blind, motorically handicapped, mentally retarded or otherwise less well equipped than his normal peers, strives to become competent in task accomplishment and in interaction with his human environment. During infancy, then, the need is for nurturing and stimulation of all intact senses, linking the human agency of nurturing to the infants' abilities to see with ever more perception, hear with better discrimination and localization, move with more precision. For the handicapped child these statements remain true — but with the modification that these can only involve the senses and motor abilities to the extent that they exist, and at a rate and sequence that will fit the abilities of this particular handicapped infant — always setting a goal a bit more advanced than the accomplishment of the moment. Success will be measurable to the extent that the child has learned to link the senses that are present with other abilities, and has modes of safe exploration of environment and the desire to explore it, has mastered the rudiments of acceptable social behavior for that particular developmental stage.

In middle childhood, building upon this foundation, the new task remains to advance in task and socialization mastery. Academic skills must be learned through the intact organs — hearing and touch for the blind child, vision for the deaf, both of these plus use of residual motor abilities for the motorically impaired in whatever manner movement distortion persists despite operative intervention and physiotherapy. For the mentally retarded, autistic, or otherwise behaviorally disturbed child, a careful mix of stimulation toward normalcy with awareness of limitations to be respected, is necessary.

In adolescence, a new set of hurdles arises. Peer socialization assumes a dominant position. Participation in sports, fast repartee with special "in" phrases, independent travelling — all move into prominence. The physically and mentally handicapped child who may have found an accepted place within normative society now finds the pace and expectations beyond him or her. The deaf child who may have acquired enough oral skills to participate in sports at middle childhood level cannot follow the fast paced conversation; the blind child can no longer keep up with the group and is gradually left out. Similarly, the motorically deficient youngster and the behaviorally inept or disturbed adolescent is more and more often left out of the group — if he had ever been truly in it. This may be the time for new decisions as to ask training and social group identification. Unless society has sensitivity to such special new needs, this is also the time for despair and a special risk for suicide for the handicapped youngster — who becomes glaringly aware of a new dimension of social handicap.

Programs

Out of the preceding discussion, the direction of programs can be seen.

1. With the birth of a handicapped child, rather than the too frequent "he will grow out of it", careful identification of the presence and degree of defect is needed. Early remedial measures — if they exist for this defect — should be planned, with the proper timing of each procedure outlined for the family and implemented when the time is ripe — whether cataract removal, tendon transplant, cardiac surgery.

2. Training specialized to the defect or defect combination — both of baby and of family — should begin. The handicapped infant needs to make use of every new day and cannot afford to be placed in the corner of life. The blind child needs experience with linking sound with person and action, the deaf child needs exposure to the relationship between manual and gestural language on the one hand and ideas and feelings on the other, the motorically deficient child needs practice in using muscles with mechanical supports and training.

3. Social training for the child — and for the family — is needed. To the defect of deafness it is not necessary to add the defect of tantrums, lack of awareness of societal expectation, of impulse control and polite actions.

4. Special educational facilities — at times within the main educational stream with special resource teachers, at times within special schools for the deaf, blind, those with cerebral palsy, the retarded — so that the child and the family can discern and accomplish the greatest degree of competitive task accomplishment within the most normative environment that permits dignified social acceptance.

5. Social facilities — at times within the main recreational and activity stream, and for some within specialized facilities

6. Counselling facilities. Crises, major decisions, handling of day to day expectations and routines, cannot be guessed for handicapped children by non-handicapped parents. Parents can become extremely knowledgeable, but to acquire such awareness they need advice and guidance from those familiar with the general abilities and ceilings of competence of children with disabilities. Some odd behaviors can be extinguished, others can only be minimized, still others must be tolerated. Some helplessness is real, but in some circumstances it is constructive to train toward independence. What degree and kind of such expectations are appropriate for each particular child requires a background of experience with handicapped children as a group.

7. Above all, individualization and flexibility of plan is needed. Two children with the same degree of measured hearing loss will obtain different degrees of recovery of hearing by use of the same hearing aid. Two equally deaf children will have very varied success with programs of oral training, lip reading and voicing of words. While the first hope is always aiming toward normalcy, the fact that some youngsters can be trained in a specific manner to achieve a close approximation of normalcy should not lead to the stereotyped assumptions that all are similarly capable. Oral training for all has in the past been the prevailing philosophy — despite evidence of its limited applicability. Some blind individuals function with complete daily competence — this does not mean that this goal can be achieved by all. Educational mainstreaming leads to educational and social competence for some — but to disaster and despair for others with equivalent handicap. Individualized decisions and programs are not to be approached with lip service. They require an examination of the opportunities the child has had up to this point of new decision, his or her responsiveness to previous training measures, the facilities now available, and the developmental stage of the child. All of this must be in the light of clearly defined knowledge of the handicap, whether it is static, progressive or diminishing, as well as the temperamental characteristics of the child. The familial, social and economic status with its freedoms of opportunity and limitations must be assessed so that assistance can extend the options for the child.

If we can do these things, we will be able to meet the special needs of special children within our culture and our society.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE 1st GENERAL THEME

Mr. Jean-Pierre Lamoureux, Coordinator of the Commission of Secondary Education, Conseil Supérieur de l'Education

The first general theme of the Congress which the participants were asked to discuss attempted to encourage them to examine "the socio-economic context of families in urban life" and particularly "the place of the child in the family within the city."

It fell to Mrs. Tamara Hareven to initiate the whole of the discussions on this theme, which she did by means of a close historical account on the evolution of the family experience to date, and of the consequences for children inherent in each stage of this evolution. Following this presentation three sub-themes were presented in order to pinpoint a few dimensions of the general theme.

First, Mr. Charles Caouette enlarged on some thoughts concerning "the family and education: values, attitudes and behavior"; the subject-matter of this talk was examined by the first discussion group.

The various conclusions which emerged from this group made the following points:

— Firstly the participants agreed with Mr. Caouette's diagnosis concerning the position in which the child is placed in his family and in school; they considered the diagnosis gloomy but generally realistic.

— The concern of the participants focused mainly on the school setting.

— Although the majority of the participants were agreed on the necessity of social and educational changes, they were unable to identify what changes should be instigated, nor how they should be brought about or in what direction they should be pointed.

— Children in difficulties were an important subject of concern for educators.

— Finally some recommendations susceptible of improving the children's position were put forward:

* Alternative settings should be created outside the school for children suffering from difficulties in adjusting to the school.

* Structures should be established within the working environment to welcome adolescents wishing to enter the work force.

* It should be possible to give precedence to pedagogical standards over administrative standards.

In second place it was Mr. Edward Shorter's turn to describe "the family discourse, the family structure and urban life from 1700 to 1979". A few major points emerged from the discussion workshop supplementing Mr. Shorter's analysis.

— Without directly rejecting Mr. Shorter's hypothesis by which the post-modern family is characterized by the erotization of the dialogue between spouses, thus causing the exclusion of the child from the family nucleus, the participants were inclined to attribute the cause for the neglect of parental responsibilities toward their children mainly to the rise of individualism in citizens and in our societies.

— In addition, the participants emphasized that an important group in our society seemed to remain outside Mr. Shorter's hypothesis, that is the group of families from underprivileged environments in which a strong tendency for renewed family grouping can be observed.

— Despite the sundering of the family which can presently take a variety of forms, some encouraging tendencies concerning the child were enumerated:

* A number of social agencies encourage the full development of the child.

* The ground for the emergence of an atmosphere of mutual respect between the individual and the collective, between the child and society can be considered auspicious, particularly in Québec.

* There is a tendency to believe that children born in our society are wanted more compared to those born in traditional society; this is likely to make adults more aware of the real needs of children.

— The majority of the participants were of course in agreement concerning the preservation of the family structure, but the basic postulate that the parents and the family are the principal socializing agents of children was questioned.

— Some of the values to which the family of the future should adhere were even spelled out: this family would be characterized by mutual love, by stability of relations between parents and child, by opening-up to the outside world, by social commitment and educational concern; this family model would thus be pluralist and polyvalent, flexible and capable of helping its member to fulfill their needs.

— Agreement was also reached on the need to stop blaming the family; in spite of its failings, it has been demonstrated that what abandoned children for example seek in the first place are so-called normal families.

— The need for empirical studies was underlined, studies that would reveal the real picture of the position of the family in our societies in order to provide for family policies free from any kind of value judgement.

In third place Dr. Stella Chess talked about "special needs of special children". Basing ourselves on the subjects brought up during the discussion workshop that followed, we can enumerate some of the concerns that seemed to be common to all participants.

— The participants proved to be very receptive and favorable to the necessity of the objective of integration of so-called exceptional children into regular classes.

— They did, however, demonstrate that this objective cannot become a general rule, for special classes and specific interventions will always remain necessary for certain categories of children.

— It is considered indispensable that all educational interventions be based on an individual diagnosis taking into account the character, the motivations and the real possibilities of each child.

— The participants stressed the need to encourage in the training of teachers the ability and the skill to listen to the child and to detect in him problems of an emotional nature.

— The importance of multi-disciplinary work was also stressed in which the various interveners (resource person, specialist, parents, and not least the child) would all bring their contribution under the leadership of an educator. This kind of approach would foster a reinforcement of the educator's motivation by increasing his worth.

— Finally emphasis was placed on the urgent need to rethink the means of communication between parents and educators in order to make them less threatening to each other, thus more constructive.

If we should now outline a few general tendencies emerging from the whole of the discussions on the first theme, we would have to recognize that, with few exceptions, the participants were in agreement about the need for changes to be brought in the life which we force our children to live particularly in the family and in the school. However, and this is the paradox which must be underlined, in spite of the desire for change people showed signs of resistance to changes, signs that manifest themselves in a confusion in the discussions on new types of behavior to be encouraged. There was a feeling of being powerless and crushed by the various systems which we in some ways uphold.

The adult, whether educator or parent, is the prototype of the citizen and in this he is in the image of the whole of society. This is another constant emerging from the discussions: it has been often pointed out that it is useless to make recommendations to the whole of society if one is not prepared to implement them for oneself. Thus, as did happen, reflections concerning the child succeeded in bringing into question social values as lived by adults and making them feel guilty. In effect, adults feel guilty but they do not know what attitudes to change, for they want to safeguard their own way of life.

We can also observe that the first general reaction of the participants, when the reality of the child had to be considered, was to immediately turn it into a question of education and, only too often, into a matter for school instruction. This can no doubt be explained by the professional training of the majority of the participants to the Congress, but the fact remains that great difficulties arose when it came to imagine models of educational and social processes different from the traditional ones of school and family.

Finally one must note that the participants did not include in the aspects of the discussions the city and the urban reality. Perhaps we must look at this fact as an illustration of a dimension of their life in which the city is perceived as implicit, omnipresent, an all-embracing and assimilating phenomenon linked to the country through the media, the rapid means of transport and the enormous general resources of our Western societies.

THE CHILD OUTSIDE
THE FAMILY IN THE CITY

SECOND GENERAL THEME

The urban environment: the child outside the family in the city

Professor Philippe Ariès, Professor, University of Paris

My topic runs the risk of sounding senseless. When the tasks were distributed among the lecturers to this congress, Tamara Hareven expressed the wish to be assigned the topic of the child *within* the family; her choice met with our entire approval as we all know her great competence: no one was better fitted to deal with this question.

I was left with the child *outside* the family.

But what child? Could he be isolated from the group which, as many thought, served as his refuge against the aggressions of the modern city? No, of course, and it would have been quite useless to compare, as some did, the family-refuge with the recent efforts of this very city to design substitute spaces reserved for the child: nurseries, leisure and entertainment grounds, etc.

Was the city-society to replace the family-refuge, sometimes failing, sometimes succeeding, depending on the fortunate or unfortunate ideas of urbanists, architects, planners, and the whole cohort of childhood specialists which have proliferated in the course or the last two or three decades? A few will have been tempted by such a project. It could not be mine, in so far as it granted to the organization men exorbitant power which, in my view, belongs only to long collective customs, to slow acculturations, to deep roots in old regional lands — with at least one generation behind them!

I therefore rejected this approach to my topic, running the risk of disappointing an audience of childhood specialists, of therapeutists who justly seek punctual remedies to existing conditions.

I will rather try to show how, in the past, the child belonged quite naturally to the urban space, with or without his parents. In a world of small trades, of small adventures, he was a familiar figure in the street. No street without children of all ages and of all conditions. Then I will show how a prolonged movement toward privacy withdrew him little by little from the urban space that ceased henceforth to be a space of abundant life which did not distinguish between private and public, to become a thoroughfare regulated by the obvious logic of traffic and security. This is the question I would like to examine.

The child was not, of course, the only one excluded by this great work of tidying up, of shaping up: a whole motley world disappeared with him from the street. His manifest solidarity with this particular world is significant. This important fact has two aspects: first to clear the street of this intractable little people which, for a long time had been accepted, more or less willingly, but without the determination to remove it, and which became later suspect, disturbing and condemned; secondly, at the same time, to separate the child from these dangerous adults by withdrawing him from the street. The street is dangerous when it serves as abode. It can escape immorality only by becoming a thoroughfare and by losing, as in the urbanism of the thirties to fifties, the characteristics and the temptations of an abode.

No, on reflection, the topic is not as senseless as one would be tempted to believe.

That city did really exist, where children lived and circulated, some outside their families, some without one. This city was long regarded by the organizers, by the men of law and order with apprehension as a source of danger, of physical and moral pollution, of contagion and delinquency. Today, on the contrary, some discover it with affection and nostalgia. That city is lost to us. When and how did happen? What has replaced it is not another city, it is the non-city, the anti-city, the totally "privatized" city.

The city has even lost its name. In May 1977, yes, you heard me, in 1977, almost today, a French prefect took part in a discussion concerning the peripheral autoroutes of the Paris region. His remarks were reported as follows in the Official Bulletin: "Concerning service-roads, the Prefect explained his concept of urbanization. He stressed the advisability of abandoning the term "city" which implies walls, boundaries, in favor of the term agglomerations, connected with each other by express-ways". No doubt, the Paris official had the marvellous American metropolis in mind, subjects of his admiration and envy.

What became of the child in this passage from city to agglomeration? What, beyond the child, also became of the adult, closely bound to him in solidarity?

From the Hellenic city, from Alexandria or Rome, to the medieval city, Christian or Muslim, to the Mediterranean medina of today, the image of the child in the street has not changed greatly. The street attracted him, he loved its spectacle, suspect to parents as well as to teachers, and to the powers that be.

The Greek poet Herondas portrays a mother complaining to the school teacher about her son's misconduct: the urchin plays truant, loiters in the street where he keeps company and plays with idlers; his childish "nuts" (the equivalent of our marbles) are not enough for him. He shares in the immoral entertainments of adults, he plays dice (maybe for money). His dice are as well worn as those of inveterate players and, states the mother with indignation, they shine more brightly than her pots and pans. The thorough chastisement he will receive from his teacher will not prevent him to go back with his dice to those disreputable meetings in streets and at crossroads.

Drawings of checker-boards and of games of hopscotch which were found in the Forum of Rome, were maybe traced by the children of the nearby school, under the Galleries, flush with the street. There they met the young apprentices who circulated in the city for business or for pleasure.

Children also had their place, an authorized one this time, in public ceremonies which took place outdoors, in the street and in public squares. They accompanied their parents when alms were being distributed; sculptures represent them perched on their father's shoulder.

In the Italian medieval city the same was still true and for the same reason: there was no space for children inside houses. They quite naturally slipped into the street, into the public space. The houses were too small and had a hard time holding all their residents, old and young, except at night for the short periods of sleep. In the upper classes, palaces were certainly larger in order to accommodate clients and servants, to give them shelter, for outdoors they would have been exposed to the dangers which were the daily lot of lesser folk. But these houses, these palaces did not provide space for a private life. Children were scattered through space that was, in truth, merely covered, not private, for it extended and appointed that of the street rather than was set apart from it. In the ancient palaces of the XIIIth century which have disappeared today, the loggia was on the ground floor and opened directly into the street. This arrangement allowed the family and its kin to be outdoors and indoors at the same time, in the street and the house.

And children, always and everywhere! In 1447 the magistrates of the Bourg de Rodez had the stairs leading to the city walls blocked "because the children climbed them every day", no doubt to take possession of that marvellous place, the watch tower. Some of Ph. Gallo's engravings represent the commercial streets of an Italian city of the beginning of the XVIIth century: small shops which opened by lowering the shutter and keeping it in a horizontal position. The tradesman, the craftsman sits behind the lowered shutter as behind a table and the customer does not have to walk into the shop to transact his business: he stays outside, often with a child at his side. Small apprentices help their masters in the shop, other children run and play pretty well everywhere without much bothering about what goes on around them.

But children are not there only, so to say, in an incidental manner, just because they cannot be elsewhere, because there is no place for them elsewhere. They have also a ritual role to play in the city, and adults expect them to assume it. In ancient Rome there existed military associations of young men from good families. In the "palestres", the "pueri", the children, mixed with the adolescents, the "juvenes", of an age to bear arms, and served them in the same manner as little pages did later. Vestals were chosen at the age of six. The child took part in cults and mysteries.

In Florence, in the XVth century, children were organized in religious companies. These had a double, contradictory role: on the one hand they introduced young people to social and, of course, religious rites. In this role the children's mission was to bring down divine protection upon the city through their prayers. On the other hand, these companies also served to control young people whose turbulence was becoming disturbing, to fill their leisure hours by removing them from the temptations and the promiscuous atmosphere of the street.

The role of children as intermediaries between adults and God can also be found among all age groups in traditional rural societies. Until puberty children were presumably considered as immune from the corruption of blood and sex to which adults were, on the contrary, strongly exposed. This is the reason why, in Florence, certain functions were reserved for them, particularly in the course of public executions most frequent in those time of civil wars: they were charged with the stonings and also with the removal of corpses.

This points clearly to the ambiguity of the status of children in ancient societies: childhood was accepted as different at least during that interval which separates it from its approaching transition to the adult groups. This difference, however, did not remove children from society as a whole, but on the contrary,

allowed to assign to them a certain mission inside this very society. In the measure in which the child was recognized as a child, he was not set apart or emprisoned in some kind of reserve; on the contrary, he was assigned a role that he alone could fill inside a society in which each category of citizens had its particular function.

* * *

These conditions were not particular to Mediterranean, ancient and medieval societies only. We find them as well in the Paris of the XVIIIth century. They are described, based on police records, in an excellent little book by Arlette Farge: *To live in the street,* published just a few months ago. The police records report small incidents of daily life.

In this second half of the XVIIIth century the street belonged mainly to the poor. The rich, who had previously shared it, were starting to abandon it. It was "a space which one occupies for the simple reason that one has no other, a space to live". For Arlette Farge wants to protect the reader from the temptation to see the picturesque and from that of nostalgia, even if, deep down, she occasionally gives way to it herself. "One must not be deceived, she writes, by images of the street reflecting impressions of charm and vitality, of intense life and animation, as a present day reader may be tempted to do, struck to discover there things that have disappeared from his world today."

To live in the street is hard, "it means not to have a haven . . . it means, as no bourgeois would accept, to depend on what goes on outdoors". For, "privacy is too new a notion; only the middle-classes are starting to make use of it and to enjoy it". That is why they too start to leave the street and to circulate only under the protection of an isolating box: carriage, sedan-chaise, etc.

Among the poor, writes Arlette Farge, "life is created here, in the street, with bursts of kindness as well as of violence. There is no place but public ones where to protect one's secrets. The houses themselves, precarious and insalubrious, are open to the outdoors, give little protection, and hardly hide what is happening inside. *Thus a space emerges where no real division exists between outdoors and indoors, nor a clear separation between work and research, leisure, affective life and play*" (italics mine). One could hardly better describe the global nature of social life, the absence of specialization before life's coherence was broken and shattered into tight compartments, compartments of private life, of professional life and of public life.

Children started to belong very early in life to this world of the street: in it they practiced all kinds of small trades, particularly that of shoe cleaners, as little shoe-shine boys still do today in Mediterranean cities. We get glimpses of them in police records when they are arrested for vagrancy:

On September 7, 1770, at eleven o'clock in the morning, at the Marché Neuf, the police "arrested Pierre Picard, born in Normandy, aged 12, shoe-cleaner, in the rue de Clichy, sleeping in the stables of the farm-yard of Monsieur le Baron d'Igny, administrator of postal services. Twelve "liards" were found in his pocket, and bread. He has been in Paris for six weeks."

The night-watch picked up on August 11, 1763, at nine in the morning "Jean Mathieu, aged 8. Says that his father is a wigmaker and that he enlisted; that he does not know what happened to him, nor to his mother. He was apprentice (a favor, nevertheless) to a certain Dagneau, construction worker, and boarded with a certain Lacroix, in the district of St-Jacques. This child was found asleep on the boulevards."

On October 8, 1777, at twelve thirty at night the police arrested "Jean-François Cassagne, aged almost 15, with no known above, selling pins since yesterday, as his father had thrown him out."

For these few little vagrants, suspect to the police, how many other children were there, better housed, but practicing the same trades, being apprentices or errand boys. Below these police records one feels the constant presence of women and children in the street, at work in the street, in the taverns from which both were going to be excluded in the XIXth century as from an evil place, reserved for men.

In the XVIIIth century they still visited them, and on holidays they went in groups, with their families, to the "guinguettes" on the boulevards, beyond the toll gates, because wine was cheaper there and the air cleaner.

The street belonged to them. Here is a little news item, also reported by Arlette Farge: on March 10, 1775, at six thirty, appeared at the town-house of Commissioner Dorival "Pierre Figallion, armorer, and his wife Elisabeth Perrin, residing in Paris, rue des Trois Cannettes (this armorer is a good craftsman, not a bourgeois; he belongs to the same world of the street, but keeps his distance) who lodged a complaint

against Lassagne and his wife, legally responsible for their son of 12. An hour before as they were walking through the rue Saint-Louis, a young individual who was playing with the son of Lassagne, threw a pitcher of water at the son, the whole of which fell on the clothes of the plaintiff. The plaintiff having said: "What are these rascals who throw water at passers-by?" the said Lassagne [father of the little rascal] answered: "Well, and one would think that you have been badly hurt!" [solidarity of the adult and the children; aggressive use of the familiar pronoun "tu"]. The wife of the plaintiff said: "You deserve a slap in the face", at which the latter threw a stone or an oyster shell at her which cut her eyebrow and caused her to lose a lot of blood."

Some other boys, very likely older, played more vicious tricks. One evening on the rue de la Harpe, reports still Arlette Farge with complacency (she should have been there!) the young woman Fardy, who was walking arm in arm with her husband, a bookseller's clerk, "felt her neck compressed with such violence" as if she was being strangled. It was because a thread was compressing her neck so hard that she lost the power of speech: "This thread was stretched across the street and handled by people hidden in the alleys of the houses (that is to say in a maze of court-yards through which the street meandered). That twelve young men arrived laughing and making derisory gestures" (March 30, 1785).

* * *

Beginning with the XVIIIth century, the street, the tavern started to be considered as dangerous places to be cleaned-up. For this, force and the police were used, but also other, gentler means were, doubtlessly, more effective. Under the more or less direct influence of Michel Foucault, a number of young French researchers, among them Arlette Farge, whom we just quoted, have undertaken to show how the poor, who made up a kind of sub-culture, were converted to the family life-styles of the bourgeoisie by the action of philantropists, state moralists and the Church, replaced later, in our times, by social workers and psychologists.

The history of this acculturation is now well known in its general outline: the child is taken away from the street and confined in a de-urbanized space, in the house or in the school, both made impervious to the confused noise of the outside world. What a tremendous change for children and young people used to the freedom, even to the licentiousness of the street to be henceforth, in their work and in their play, removed from productive activities, deprived of responsibilities, subjected to educational disciplines. Thus a whole segment of the population, young, but previously active, will find itself displaced from the outdoors to indoors, from a total way of life, private, professional and public all at once, to the closed world of privacy.

The face of the street has also been necessarily affected by this tendency to empty it and to condition what remains. One could have believed that the global sociability of the street was going to disappear. This, however, did not happen for another century, and it is quite remarkable that the privatization of family life, the industrialization and urbanization of the XIXth century did not succeed in smothering the spontaneous forms of urban sociability, even when, in certain cases, this sociability found different expressions. It is only in the middle of the XXth century, long after industrialization, that its collapse took place, and with it that of the city.

Marie-José Chombart de Lauwe studied the image of the child in the literature of the XIXth century and the beginning of the XXth. Reading her one realizes that the old relationships between the child and the street had not disappeared, not even among the already privatized middle-classes which produced the writers. Many of the texts she quoted are significant in this respect. "The street, she says in her commentary, is perceived by the small protagonists as a prestigious world, harbouring an intense life, rather similar to a party." For Anatole France: "What I liked in the beautiful rue du Bac, were the shops . . . their marvellous little cakes."

Here is Maurice Genevoix: "My grandmother's house was not more than two hundred steps distant, but it was a splendidly adventurous journey, an undertaking which exhausted me with its pleasures . . . It was, every Thursday, the same feast always renewed of the rushing street smelling of holidays and wind." (Le jardin dans l'île, 1936).

For Léautaud (Le petit ami, 1899): "There is not a single passage in the whole neighbourhood which is not still filled for me with a kind of good fellowship."

Sometimes, however, as for example in Pierre Loti, the street becomes a world of the unknown and of anguish. "When the city, notes Marie-José Chombart de Lauwe, is not a space of free circulation and games, it becomes a disturbing world." One finds, in fact, in the child, the same two images of the city as those observed by the historian of the XVIIIth and of the beginning of the XIXth century: an archaistic image made of festivity and familiarity, and a modernist image of insecurity and apprehension.

But some hesitation remains; society has not yet sunk into fear, and for the child the fascination of the street prevails. We have seen it, the reports are numerous. It will of course be pointed out and rightly that the memories of future writers express rather the longing for a street already viewed from a certain distance than the naive pleasure of living there full time. One can hardly expect that the ruling classes, which have done all in their power to keep the child at home and in school, would let him yet again escape into the street! However, they were not immediately able to eliminate the outdoors completely. They merely substituted, as a compromise, for the working-class and treatening street other spaces of socialization, spaces that were doubtlessly not meant for that purpose, but in which they were the masters and where they felt that their security was assured. A few of these spaces, like the large café with a terrace, spilling over onto the large public square, were, like clubs, the preserve of men: women and children were excluded.

Another space was the *park*, extensive parks as the XVIIIth century created them in London and the XIXth century in Paris, Vienna and New York. The smart set visited them on foot, on horseback, in their carriages, but families came too, children with their nurses, sometimes children alone, escaping for a moment from the supervision of adults who, besides, did not worry too much about their pranks in this well controlled space.

Richard Sennet recognizes the importance and the sociability of parks in pre-Civil War Chicago. "That is why, he writes, Union Park (the district of Chicago he studied with such insight) avoided the claustrophobia of the contemporary *suburbs*. The park was the natural place for meetings and socialization between the community belonging to the district and the population of the city." A memorialist, Carter Harrison, whom he quotes, speaks of the "uninhibited wandering and exploring" of his childhood in the park.

The upper classes of the XIXth century withdrew from the street. They did not withdraw from the city. They only remodelled it as much as they could (their power did have limits, as we shall see further). They set up a city for themselves, where the street was cleaned, straightened, cleared of its holes, its nooks, aligned with the houses from which the working-class was pushed back to more distant districts.

Segregation was, however, seldom complete: the more middle-class districts had their commercial streets in which small islands of trade and merchant habitat continued to survive, too much of a minority and too easygoing to disturb. These small islands corresponded at the same time with the necessity for services and with a need, not quite repressed, for diversity.

Despite these subtle variations, it is nonetheless true that in middle-class districts, even when still acceptable for the child to linger in the park, his place was at school or in the home. Certainly not in the street.

. . .

At the same period things were different in the working-class districts. The historians of the XIXth century, and our present day sociologists noticed that the traditional society of the street, the one described by Arlette Farge, in which the woman and the child were full-fledged participants, survived for a very long time in working-class districts. Their opinions confirm what was suggested by the characters made famous by literature or cartoons, as in France Victor Hugo's Gavroche or, closer to us, in the years 1910-20, the urchins of Montmartre, got up in second hand clothes too big for them, with men's cloth caps on their head, who soon were called "little Poulbots" by the name of the artist who drew them.

Even at the beginning of the XXth century children still exercise the small trades which had always been theirs: they run errands, take care of deliveries, handle stored merchandise. They carry food and water to the workers in shops, factories or mines, as in the country they look after the animals, help with the harvest and with the planting . . . All this still went on after the passage of laws regulating child labour, and which, in time, dissuaded employers from hiring them. The children don't seem to have complained, and it may have been they who insisted on working, contrary to the long held belief, and neither the parents nor the workers in the shops were conscience stricken. The latter liked to have their picture taken at their place of work with the children who helped them from time to time, and who did not make a clear distinction between places of play and places of work.

In fact child labour in industry was interpreted in two different ways which challenge the participation of children in the life of adults and in that of the community.

The first approach, that of Catholic philantropists and of Marxist historians, is that of radical censure: children were considered as victims of capitalist exploitation. This approach does correspond to a very real aspect of the situation! Quite recently a Québec historian, J. Harvey, showed what things had been like in Canada.

The second approach, which is that of a new generation of historians, of sociologists, without contradicting the first, finds a different, more positive effect in the participation of children in practice in the work of adults, in that mixing of ages which, in practice, work in common maintains. An exhibition on the child of the Rouergue organized by Jean and Claire Delmas, (Jean Delmas is Director of the Departmental Archives of the Aveyron) presents a letter dated 1901 in which an artist-acrobat requests permission from Monsieur le Préfet of the Aveyron to allow his son Eugène, *aged 8*, to work doing acrobatic turns on his hands. The father emphasizes that the work is absolutely safe. The Préfet, however, wrote in the margin of the document: *"Permission refused"*.

François Barré, a present day architect-designer, expresses himself as follows concerning the present place of the child in the city: "Our societies have, no doubt, subjected children to production by exploiting them shamelessly. Marx could write that when capital took hold of the machine its slogan was: women's work, children's work. But it seems that this first crime led to a *permanent suspicion being attached to every attempt made to associate the child with productive labour.* (italics mine)

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Primary school was, at the end of the XIXth century, attended very widely in France. Thus the sociability of children of the working-class got organized at the beginning of the XXth century both around the school and around the district (one school per district). It is the school that created the distinction between this period and the preceding one of the XVIIIth and the beginning of the XIXth century, the period described by Arlette Farge. The child is henceforth a schoolchild, recognizable by his *black apron* which he seldom took off and which identified him like a uniform.

The school, however, took him away from the street only for part of the day and of the week. Neither parent nor maid came to pick him up or to bring him back: his time was his own and the spent it outdoors, in groups, with his schoolfellows.

Even the little bourgeois dreamed of escaping from his guardian angels to mix with the little lads of the "communale" (the school for the poor!) and to live in the street adventures as intense as theirs. It is what Jean Cocteau says in 1929 of the children of the rue d'Amsterdam. This street is their meeting place, a kind of medieval public square, their love, games and miracle court, their stamp exchange (a rather bourgeois entertainment) and their marble exchange (this one universal), a place of danger where the tribunal judged the guilty and executed them, where extensive regging sessions were plotted which *came to a head in the class-room* (my italics) and which surprised the teachers by their planning.

In 1912, about the same period as that evoked by Cocteau, Pergaud related the kinds of conflicts and ragging that occupied the gangs of children after school. In his book, *La guerre des boutons*, as well as in Cocteau's *Les enfants terribles*, in the country as well as in the city, the schemes of these little gangs were regarded "as signs of the vitality of children" (Marie-José Chombart de Lauwe). They were not reported anymore: maybe because they were becoming less frequent, and one wonders whether they were becoming part of a nostalgic, receding past.

Such indulgence was, in fact, rather exceptional. As a whole, society remained hostile to the freedom of children in the street in which it saw only physical insecurity and lack of moral discipline, and finally a training ground for delinquency. The little *marauder*, as he was called, whose ears were pulled and who was given a few slaps, turned, little by little, into the young *delinquent*, who today would be handed over, by the director of the commercial centre, to the police, to social welfare, to the children's magistrate, to the correction centre, etc. (and whom the royal magistrate of the Ancient Regime already punished quite severely when the offence was committed in a public market).

In a letter which Michèle Perrot addressed to me in connection with this paper, this excellent historian of working-class society writes: "The daily reports of police officers preserved (at least in part) for the years 1880-1914 at the Police Headquarters, show that the police, at the beginning of the XXth century spent a great deal of time chasing scamps. At the beginning of the XXth century the instituting of a code for children, the creation of children's courts (1912) emphasize, of course, this chase of the "vagrant child", a chase which began as far back as the end of the XVIIIth century in Paris.

In the small manufacturing town of Saint-Afrique in the South of France, the mid-XIXth century police tracked down children who loitered in the street. In the remarkable exhibition on "the children of the Rouergue" (Espalion, Summer 1979) Jean and Claire Delmas have presented a collection of police reports made in 1865 in Saint-Afrique against children aged about 12 guilty of playing cards and other games of chance in the street for money — surely for very small change — but it is the principle that counts!

Here we see boys aged 12 who are caught "both playing [here a patois word, "jourgant" meaning "jouant" is used] heads or tails for money. As we approached, they ran away". The police officer, however, knew them and their names. On another occasion the police officer recognized only two of the runaways: the rest of the gang escaped. Still others were caught playing cards for money: the offence was committed in front of the judge's house, which was possibly an aggravating circumstance!

The pressure of the authorities and soon that of the families who felt more and more guilty, banned the children from the street. But they resisted, taking advantage of their freedom between school and home, and organized themselves into gangs. Michèle Perrot believes that the First World War brought about a renewed outbreak of this phenomenon and the subsequent return to order did not eliminate it entirely. A young sociologist, Philippe Meyer, has discovered them again today in Paris, in the outlying districts of the North, on the border of the city and the suburbs.

He analyses them in his Doctoral Thesis (1977). I myself had already spoken in an article published in *Daedalus* (1977) of the "distaste of the State to see certain areas of life escape its control and its influence". Philippe Meyer remarks that "these areas of life have not entirely disappeared. Vigorously opposed, they persist in a vestigial state in certain districts and in certain cities where the work of colonization and harassment undertaken by the State has not yet entirely succeeded in getting the better of the indigenous modes of sociability". The Northern districts of Paris, which he knows so well, which burgeoned near the old abandoned fortifications and remained for a long time like a "no man's land", had the good fortune to remain for a long time under-equipped, that is they possessed little school, social recreational equipment. The Paris administrators had forgotten them and taken no interest in their "development".

"This district, writes Meyer, described by Carco, sung by Bruant, has remained true to itself, working-class, populous, alive. It is particularly famous for its traditionally numerous gangs of young people. Escaping to a great extent from the official and normal circuits of mobilization and socialization, these young people have essentially and often surprizingly, remained "habitants" rooted in a place and in an environment, mainly characterized by the tie that binds them to their territory. Coming generally from families considered abnormal, having early escaped from the school system or been driven out by it, undesirable because of their turbulence in associations, clubs, groups or youth centres, later refused by selection committees for military service, these young people feel nevertheless a close solidarity with a social reality, a life style, a neighbourhood, a solidarity with the "street". The gangs we have known were thus all geo-socially determined, they all were from somewhere, and this place of origin was at the same time a life milieu which shaped, qualified and molded the gang to a point where one could tell, with a little experience and solely by observing their behavior and their habits, where such and such youth came from . . ."

"It is doubtless this particular mode of indigenous socialization through the street and the environment that gives the gang this potential of social imagination, this capacity for folklore, for myth, for adventure. This wealth of sociability weaves over their morbid boredom and over the daily banality of the individual lives a history of exceptional social density, true leaven of the gang, of its solidarity and its vitality. Where many see, and with good reason, only confusion, crowding, disorder, sound and fury, one is compelled to recognize by paying close attention, a profusion, a wealth, an accumulation, a freedom, the blossoming of an irrepressible social life which has evaded, but for how much longer, the missions of social workers, the prescriptions of urbanism, the bars of asylums and prisons."

Curiously enough, one finds in the contemporary Paris of Philippe Meyer many of the traits of the XVIIIth century Paris of Arlette Farge, particularly the overflowing of the street into the houses. Spaces exist which are common to the street and to the house, mazes of blind alleys, of passages, of clusters of buildings, of lanes . . . Meyer emphasizes the "places", semi-private, semi-public, which make up "a kind of village (with its merchants) which is more closely related to the "courées" of the XIXth century (and to the squares, the "Quarrés" which Arlette Farge finds in documents of XVIIIth century Paris) than to the urbanization surrounding it".

Life in these networks of micro-spaces has been preserved because the car has been reluctant to enter them, except the car of the resident. "This light traffic permits the children to play ball in the road-way, to gather and play there freely, within view of their mothers who can call to them from their kitchen windows."

This "place" is not, however, reserved for children only. One finds there that mixture of ages which characterized the ancient city. "The central square is *a place of meetings and exchanges* (my italics), a centre where all kind of information is circulated, a post from which one can observe all the details of the small island's life." The result is cooperation among the various age groups, "while still keeping fitting distances". Thus there exist relations between children's gangs and youths' gangs. The youths initiate

the children, organize their games, their outings, but keep them out of the way of their more dangerous and suspect activities and of their expeditions. One would find these kinds of distinction in working-class districts of Italian cities.

The strong sociability of children in the city, the sharing of urban space between children and adults, have persisted through the whole of the XIXth century. Some traces of this still exist. But during the XXth century the casting out of children from the life of the city broke down the resistance, while at the same time urban space was transformed, it exploded; to take up the term used by the Paris Prefect of 1977 quoted earlier, the city was becoming an *agglomeration*.

It is interesting to trace this evolution to its early beginnings in the America of the end of the XIXth century.

Richard Sennet has very well analysed its beginnings in Chicago in connection with the changes in the family of that time. I shall relate what he says of the place of the child. We have already noted with him that the Chicago neighbourhood he studies, Union Park before 1870, the era of the sociality of parks, the family was sufficiently open to the environment so that the child could venture in tolerated strolls and explorations. A few years later, and this is the subject of his book, the composition and the structure of the family had changed. The so-called nuclear family replaced the extended family which included at least one collateral kin or a greater age variety: uncle and aunt, big brother or big sister living at home, generally working and married.

In these so-called nuclear families, equally middle-class, closed in on parents and children in which the couple mother-child dominates the affective relations, the life of the child has changed. The child has lost the relative freedom which was his in the extended families. No more adventures in the park! "His parents, writes Richard Sennet, took him to school and picked him up to bring him home. *He was forbidden to go to the park* (my italics) and was compelled to play very close to his home where his mother could constantly oversee him."

In Chicago around 1890, the first stage consisted of confining the child to home and school.

The second stage was the migration out of the traditional city divided in squares by streets which were centres of activity and sociability. The city, such as it had been inherited from the past, became a foil: It could still serve as a place of employment, but *not as a place to live*. Living, in future, will take place as much as possible among nature in the country. A space will be created which will pretend not to be the city: the suburbs, the richest of them being the ones which look least like a city. It is in America that the shattering of the city occurred first and most radically.

In France, in the Paris region, although the course of events was different and things happened later, the deterioration of the urban space has been the same. A recent document allows us to see the transformation of the urban space in action in the little boroughs which later were absorbed in the compact fabric of the Paris suburbs by the great tide of the XXth century.

Mrs. Roxane Dubuisson owned a collection of post-cards of the 1900 period which represent aspects of these boroughs with the art and precision of the photographers of those days. Around 1970, two young men, Alain Blondel and Laurent Sully-Jaulnes, had the idea of selecting some of these photographs and then of finding again the sites they represented and taking pictures of these sites in their new state to finally compare the two series, that of 1900 and that of 1970. The documents were exhibited in Paris at the Musée des arts décoratifs in 1972/73 and an album of reproductions was published with the title: *L'image du temps dans le paysage urbain.* (The image of time in the urban landscape.)

"This tour of the suburbs, writes Alain Blondel is his preface, took us two years. We devoted Sunday mornings to our little hobby-horse: Mrs. Dubuisson driving, I sitting at her side surrounded by old and new maps spread out for comparison, Laurent in the back with his files and cameras."

We have, therefore, at our disposal, for each site chosen, its state in 1900 on the left, its state in 1970 on the right. The contrast is crushing. In the interval the whole of life has disappeared. It is not that the buildings have changed; except in very rare cases, the houses, their alignment, their general configuration, the plan have remained the same. One nevertheless slips from one world into another. On the left, in 1900, a living world, on the right, in 1970 a world stiff and petrified.

Looking closely one observes that the difference arises from the following factors:

1. Narrowing of the sidewalks, of the open spaces that were filled with trees and people. These spaces served as an intermediary between the central road-bed and the mineral masses of the houses. They have been reduced to so little that they have no function left: they are empty, useless.

2. The disappearance of trees. The cities of the XIXth century, contrary to those of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, were planted with trees. These have disappeared between 1900 and 1970.

3. The disappearance of "bistrots" terraces. The café, the "bistrot", played an essential role in the sociability of these small towns of the XIXth century. They spread out their property onto the street with their usually shaded terraces. Café terraces and trees were part of the normal decor of the street. Both terraces and trees have disappeared even where the café has remained, its terrace "privatized", conjured away inside the building, divided from the street by glass walls.

4. The disappearance of strollers and children. In 1900 the streets are thronged, café terraces full of people. The street is like a promenade planted with trees, bordered with cafés, invaded by the tables and chairs of the terraces. Among the strollers *a great number of children* of all ages, the smaller ones with their mother, the bigger ones alone or in little groups. Everybody is obviously outdoors. In 1970 the street has emptied: there are no more men, women, children than there are trees.

5. The void is filled with cars. Are they the cause of the deserted city? It is undoubtedly the car that has driven the working-class families to keep the child from playing in the street, a habit it had maintained in spite of the police and its bans. Fear of accidents has had better results than fear of a police one could tolerate.

The children were not afraid; they knew how to adjust to cars, they climbed on them as they had clung in bunches in the 1940s to the street cars of Rome. But here the parents were roused and succeeded in restraining them. The children themselves had also possibly lost their taste for running in the street!

The car is, however, not the only explanation. Italian cities like Rome (but not Naples) have also been invaded by cars, but these did not secure a monopoly and they were forced to share the street with the crowds that had taken root in it. Elsewhere, in France in particular, the cars have created a void and the municipalities have been reduced, in order to save the street, to create artificial spaces, sometimes alive, sometimes dead, of pedestrian streets.

Let us accept the findings established by our two young Paris photographers of 1970: "Before. After. What? The car? Certainly . . . The de-population of the countryside? That too. Then also the (real estate) promoters, the monuments to the dead, the compulsory public lighting, the networks of power lines and poles, the publicity panels, television that keeps the former stroller at home . . . The responsibilities are shared, overlapping. This much is clear. Before, it was all right, or at least bearable. After, it has become ugly, depressing, not livable . . . the proof is here, scientific."

On the one side a city of men, on the other a city without men, deserted, mineral. Studying these documents one understands what makes the life of a city: it is human traffic, exchanges, encounters, the bustle of the street.

In fact, the death of the street was intended. The street concentrated all the dangers, the immorality, the insalubrity of the city. It had to be abandoned or reduced to a function so specialized that one tried, if possible, to avoid going there if one had the good fortune not to work in it. The life that had receded from the city spread out around it in a looser habitat, in houses and gardens where it was so pleasant to dwell that no reason existed for leaving them. The street was replaced by the road, scene of car traffic and not anymore of strolling men and children.

Urbanists then contemplated the possibility of remodelling the old urban centres, abandoned in the evening after the closing of offices. They even considered reviving them by making them similar to the residential suburbs. It was enough to abolish the street, source of pollution and danger, obstacle to the global privatization of space.

Le Corbusier and the destructive urbanists of his generation were not barbarians: they understood the beauty of churches, of palaces, of great architecture. They refused, however, to see any artistic value in the maze of alleys and squares, in the small insalubrious and crumbling islands: their antiquity did not confer on them privilege anymore. The urbanists wanted to destroy them and to replace them, on the surface with greenery, in height, by airy, sunny towers, abodes of happy families. The commercial functions were pushed back into spaces sacrificed to them, set apart in the city, into a back city where one would go to shop as one goes to the toilet to relieve oneself.

The ideal city would be nothing more than an enormous park, with a scattering of modern towers, of ancient monuments linked by autoroutes. People would stay at home, in their houses and in their gardens, the children would be parked in special spaces conceived for them: outdoors, not a soul, except a few tourists attracted by the fame of this accomplishment.

The utopic city has not been realized (except maybe in Los Angeles), but one strove for it, and today's agglomerations are conceived as a compromise between the dreams of tomorrow and the constraints of the past.

One thought one had done enough for the children when good conditions for the functioning and security of family privacy had been assured, the privacy of the family being more important that of its separate members. No more hiding places given over to children in this functional universe where each step was foreseen, where each place had a purpose.

Outside the house it had been agreed, not without reluctance, to turn over a few spaces reserved for games and for the leisure of children, if indeed the house, the school and its multiple activities were not sufficient! Moralists were indignant that these spaces were either deserted or wrecked.

Outside the house and the prescribed spaces, no more streets to welcome the children. They were then compelled to discover in this too well ruled world a few gaps in which they could settle as they had previously done in the street: the underground parkings, the stairwells, the rare forgotten or deserted nook when it wasn't the cellar of which they had broken open the door.

* * *

Art historians were the first, it seems to me, before doctors, sociologists, psychologists, priests, all dazzled by the mirages of modernity, to be concerned about this devaluation of the street, to protest against its destruction, to defend its functions, first and foremost its esthetic functions. The beauty of a city does not, as a matter of fact, depend solely on its monuments, but on its framework of small islands, of *blocks* (insulae), of streets, which by themselves constitute a work of art, a totally irreplaceable work and a very fragile one. One can restore a monument, one can even rebuild it. One can absolutely not recreate the interlacing of streets and of small blocks of houses which escape all imitation by their irregularities. The picturesque of the street is due to a sum of inimitable nothings which cannot be planned in advance.

The street was therefore first rehabilitated for esthetic reasons. The human sciences specialists apply today to the social and psychological field the arguments and problem-solving methods of art historians. There exists henceforth a consensus according to which one would rather forbid entry to cars on certain streets in order to allow children to play freely, than destroy a street or a courtyard to install a space reserved for them and which, we know it now, they would refuse.

The idea that the child should be reintegrated into the city is gaining ground, replacing the idea of abolishing the city, ostensibly on the pretext that this undertaking would protect the family and the child.

To show this evolution I will present a few developments in present day France, a country which has been, as we know, the favorite ground for real estate and social planning: In 1976 at Beaubourg, an exhibition, La ville et l'enfant (The city and the child); in 1977 a special issue of the review *Autrement*, entitled "*Dans la ville, les enfants* (In the city, the children), Marie-José Chombart de Lauwe and her collaborators participated in these two noteworthy enterprises and this is why I mention her name among those of other childhood specialists. The article she contributed to the catalogue of the Beaubourg exhibition was entitled: *L'enfant dans la ville: oublié, enjeu ou messager?* (The child in the city: forgotten, stake or messenger?)" To introduce the social category of children in planning, she writes in an article of the special issue of *Autrement*, seems at first to entail only punctual actions (determination of reserved spaces); in fact it demands an important reorganization"; in other words to re-think the city.

François Barré, urbanist-designer has repeated in the 1976 review *Traverses* a communication he presented to the 1975 I.C.S.I.D. Congress in Moscow, in which he developed the two requirements of children in their conception of space, requirements seemingly contradictory but in fact complementing each other, as our old societies had well understood.

On the one hand the requirement for a space belonging to them only, a space made up of shadows, of irregularities, of varied ground, as the street and the house of the past used to be. These observations, notes François Barré, challenge certain constants of the architecture of industrialized societies. "The great picture windows which inundate the rooms with light cancel the separation of outdoors and indoors

[I would say of the constructed house and of wild nature]; the multi-fonctional spaces which communicate on the same level with one another [they ignore the delightful transitions]; the central lighting which reveals space in its totality; the habitats without variations of levels: all this is in opposition to the demands of the child."

On the other hand the requirement for "general" space (in the sense of general practitioner, non-specialist) common to children and adults, "open and not sectorial". This was formerly the street space, or the shop space. This has disappeared.

"Postponed producer, continues François Barré, deferred adult, must the child ignore the city as a space and live for years in protected reserves, outside promiscuity and exchange? But we do indeed thrust him aside and keep him from taking part in adult (working) life, and more generally from every responsible productive activity."

"If we follow the child in the city, he continues, we will not discover the city (in its traditional and common sense), but a division of time and space not corresponding with each other: what I call the non-city. Among these times and these spaces a certain number are, however, reserved for the child, the nursery, the school, the aerated spaces, the sports, grounds, the creative studio. All small ghettos."

Then, François Barré evokes the ancient city: "It was made up of a succession of irregularities, of courtyards, of nooks, *of non-assigned spaces*. It secreted through all its pores a contradictory experience and offered multiple, subtly ordained lectures . . . The neighbourhood . . . itself had its micro-environment. *The child who had at the time but few specific spaces, took over the city and its inhabitants, his neighbours, the merchants close by, the urban objects, the street.* The city, in one word, had theatricality. The new cities which have neither past nor odor, smell of order, the order of a zoning urbanism and of a meaningless architecture.

Therefore, for the child to find the necessary city again, the city must not slip from the adults grasp, like the sea when the tide turns. The adults too must want to find the city again. One can say about the child and the adult what was said about General Motors and the United States: What is good for the one is good for the other.

N.B.

To the authors quoted in the text (F. BARRÉ, A. BLONDEL, M.-J. CHOMBART DE LAUWE, A. FARGE, P. MEYER, R. SENNET, L. SULLY-JAULNES) I must add the names of those who supplied me with information and suggestions during a meeting at the Centre of Historical Research of the School of Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (Centre de Recherches Historiques de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales): concerning Antiquity, M. MANSON, concerning the Middle-Ages, CH. KLAPISCH, concerning the modern and contemporary period, J.P. BARDET, B. FORTIER, A.M. FUGGIER, J. CRUBELIER AND Dr. ODENT. I have quoted No. 10 of *Autrement* (Paris) 1971, "Dans la ville, des enfants" (In the city, children). See also No. 25 of *Critère* (Montreal) 1979, "L'Enfant et le travail" (The child and labour).

ADDRESS

Mr. Denis Lazure, Minister of Social Affairs

The text of the address by the Minister, Mr. Denis Lazure is not available in English.

LECTURE 4

The habitat, the street, the neighbourhood, and other urban spaces

Mr. Kevin Lynch, Environmental Designer

We are unfortunately unable to present the text of Mr. Kevin Lynch's lecture, as he was not able to submit a written text of his presentation.

LECTURE 5

The school, extra-curricular activities, and the full use of educational equipment

Dr. Lydia A. Gerhardt, Associate Professor of Early Childhood, Wheelock College

INTRODUCTION

Urban Child — Today's Child

In his introduction to this international congress, Urban Life and the Child, Jean-Claude Marsan, President of the Congress states, "Two thirds of the population of North America, Europe and Oceania live in cities. In one or two generations the same will probably apply to the majority of developing countries." Who is the child in today's city? I'd like to answer this question by citing a personal experience as well as the observations of scholars in the field.

Five years ago I asked for a leave of absence from Wheelock College to return to the classroom as a full time teacher of children. Through a collaborative arrangement between the college and a local school system, I became a kindergarten teacher in the Pierce School in Brookline, Mass . . . While there is neither time nor space to describe this very fulfilling year in detail, a brief description of the children and families whose lives touched mine seems appropriate to this conference and what I am going to say about education of children who live in urban settings. Pierce is not an inner city school but is surely an urban school. Identified as one of three elementary schools in the community to receive Title I funds, it serves a diverse population. For most of the year I had twenty-six children evenly divided between boys and girls. Sixteen of them (62%) had experienced separation/divorce, one had a step father, another a step sister, two were illegitimate, and one had a father who was in and out of a mental institution and was also an epileptic. Nine children (⅓) were eligible for free breakfast and free milk at school. There were several Israeli children who initially spoke only Hebrew, a Hungarian, a Philipino, a Cuban, a German, a French speaking boy and two black children. Sixteen (62%) had working mothers, most of whom were single. Fifteen (58%) children left my morning kindergarten program to attend a day care program where many of them stayed until 5:30, a ten hour day in group care! I knew about three mothers who were on drugs and in one case shared marijuana with her five-year-old. Through conferences I learned that many mothers put their need to work and their recreation as priorities over the needs I perceived in their children. Parents reported that children spent from two to seven hours a day watching television, and I often heard children talking about horror movies, and documentaries on topics like drug abuse or alcoholism. Such programs were on at

9:00 and 10:00 at night. Most lived in rented low wooden framed houses that had been subdivided into apartments, and most children shared bedrooms with several siblings.

Once school routines were established, I found these children to be incredibly independent. They could handle money for assorted purposes, notes to and from two sets of "teachers", and transitions from one milieu to another with amazing maturity. Yet in another way, many of them seemed to cry out for nurturing — some by seeking a lap, a hug or physical nearness, while others tested the adult limits to bring about the contact, and still others avoided closeness as if it was an unknown. There were a significant number of children who craved the "teacher directed" or prestructured activities and would have spent inordinate days, weeks and perhaps months listening to records, playing lotto or other board games, or doing puzzles. What were they telling me about their preferred learning style? To what degree was television molding this style? What role did the curriculum in their previous school or day care center play? Once willing to try a new medium some children moved very predictably through recognized stages of development while a significantly large number seemed to spend much of the year in the sensory manipulative stage that is unusually characteristic of much younger children. Some of the "hyperactive" children eagerly signed up to use the raw materials and became involved, while others seemed to passively manipulate them seemingly unable to discover their symbolic possibilities, and still others sought the very primitive stimulation which comes from painting their hands and face, frantically racing around the playground, exuberantly splashing water or hammering nails for the purpose of making someone's eyes blink. Outdoor play was highly influenced by television especially for the boys and was characterized by hyperactivity for many — frantic running, chasing, wild climbing and jumping. Here again sensory stimulation seemed to be the predominant need, in deference to an intellectual search for understanding of a role. Tieing up a friend or being tied up by a friend seemed to be reflections of a need to control or be controlled more than a playing out of a segment in the life of a hero or villain. Reading each child's behavior was a complex task aggravated by the lack of regular face to face contact with single working mothers. It was not always easy to assess whether a particular behavior was a necessary step in development, a loss of inner control that was asking for an external limit, a fear, a lack of experience and understanding, or more often a combination of many reasons. These were five-year olds who were beginning their formal education in an urban school.

Fantini and Weinstein describe the urban context as "one in which there is persistent stress imposed by intensely concentrated social realities."[1] They define these social realities in three issues:

1. issues dealing with physical needs (food, clothing, shelter, health), and emotional needs (safety and security),

2. issues concerned with psychosocial needs of love, recognition, status, affiliation and potency, agency or effect,

3. aesthetic, knowledge-seeking, spiritual, and self actualizing issue[2].

They then elaborate on the second category, psychosocial needs, describing how the city is constituted to:

1. destroy the self image, self-concept, identity, self-esteem, and ego strength, calling these identity issues,

2. break down affiliations and connections with significant others,

3. render human beings as powerless and lacking in control and influence over what is happening to them[3].

To what degree were my five-year olds reflecting these psychosocial needs in their behavior? What are the implications of these needs for urban school and community curriculum?

Dr. Mia Kellmer Pringle, Director of the National Children's Bureau in England, educator and child psychologist, was commissioned by the Department of Health and Social Security to "prepare a comprehensive document about the developmental needs of all children, about the ways in which these needs

1. Mario D. Fantini and Gerald Weinstein, "What is Urban about the Urban School?" in *Schooling in the City*, eds. John Raynor and Elizabeth Harris (London: The Open University Press, 1977), p. 18.

2. Ibid., p. 19.

3. Ibid., pp. 20-23.

are normally met, and about the consequences for the emotional, intellectual, social and physical growth and development of children when, for one reason or another, these needs are not adequately met.[4] She identified four needs:

1. the need for love and security
2. the need for new experiences
3. the need for praise and recognition
4. the need for responsibility[5]

She then identified five groups of children whose personal, family or social circumstances put them "at risk of becoming stunted or damaged in their psychological development."[6]

1. children in large families with low incomes
2. children with physical or mental handicaps
3. children in one parent families
4. children who have to live apart from their parents for longer or shorter periods
5. children of minority groups which are discriminated against[6].

It is well known that large numbers of such children live in urban environments and attend urban schools. My group of five-year-olds seems to be illustrative.

I have tried to identify today's child in the urban context as well as to trace significant threads which are woven into my educational goals, goals which I see as fundamental to children's growth and development and their ability to function in today's society. My goals include:

1. to build a personal identity, an image of self as an unique and competent person.
2. to feel power in self and ability to constructively impact the environment.
3. to build pride in one's own heritage, as well as understanding and compassion for others' whose heritage is different or handicapping.
4. to develop affiliations and connections with significant others.
5. to build social skills that facilitate constructive interactions.
6. to learn to handle personal and interpersonal conflicts.
7. to build a functioning knowledge of the physical, natural, social and political environment and the significant interactive forces in that environment.
8. to build a repertoire of facility with cultural symbol systems including written and spoken language, and the languages of mathematics, science, art, dance, drama, literature, and music.
9. to build moral values commensurate with the laws of the society in which one lives.
10. to build motor competence which supports physical health, as well as sense of self and cognitive competence.

Linked with and underlying these goals is the child's ability to orient himself in space-time. The psychosocial needs of the child as well as cultural expectations of the school to help children develop particular skills and understandings reside, in part, in the child's ability to orient himself in space-time. I want now to 1) define how orientation in space-time is fundamental to learning and hence, basic to the achievement of my educational goals, 2) describe how learning occurs for the child, 3) describe how the child builds concepts of space-time, and 4) conclude by defining the nature of experiences that will facilitate the child's orientation in space-time.

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4. Mia Kellmer Pringle, *The Needs of Children* (London: Hutchinson and Co. Ltd., 1975), p. 13.

5. Ibid., pp. 34-58.

6. Ibid. p. 108-147.

SPACE-TIME AND LEARNING

Space-time, defined

What do I mean by space-time? Space-time answers the question where-when? One cannot talk about time without talking about space. If I tell you I'll meet you at 9:00 o'clock, you will undoubtedly reply, where? And likewise if I say, "I'll meet you in the park," you will probably ask, "When?" We often define distance in terms of how long it takes to get there; and we speak of a "space of time".

One dictionary defines space as "distance extending in all directions; the continuous expanse extending in . . . three dimensions, within which all things exist, variously thought of as boundless or indeterminately finite", and later, "the distance, expanse, or area between, over, within, etc. things".[7] Implicit are points of reference, beginnings and ends, lines and shapes.

The same dictionary defines time as "indefinite, unlimited duration in which things are considered as happening in the past, present or future; every moment here has ever been or ever will be."[8] Implicit here again are points of reference, as well as events and sequences of happenings. Objects help us define space. They establish relationships and can be measured. Events help us define time. They, too, establish relationships and can be measured.

Space-time in Reading and Writing

Among the space-time ideas involved in reading in our Western culture are direction, points of reference, shapes, lines and sequences. The eyes must travel from left to right and from the top of the page to the bottom. They must perceive the beginning of a word (sentences, paragraph) as well as the middle and the end. Differentiating letters and words has to do with spatially differentiating the arrangement of straight lines and curved lines. A "b," "d," "p" and "q," each include a closed circle and a straight line. The differences among them lie in their placement in space — top/bottom, left/right. Thus, letters and words and sentences have shape. And letters, words, sentences and ideas occur in sequences. The physical motor task of forming letters in handwriting necessitates not only visual differentiation but also the motor differentiation of left/right and top/bottom. Writing requires a sequence of movements in space to form a particular shape. To make a "b" we say, "Start at the top, go straight down, then go half way up again and form a circle on the right side of your line." Where is the "top?" From what point of reference?

Space-time in Mathematical thought

Mathematical thinking has fundamental space-time underpinnings that preclude the development of mathematical understandings. Numbers occur in a particular invariant sequence and in a direction in space, despite variable shapes of that sequence. e.g. Numerals on clocks are frequently placed in a circle, some dials arrange numerals in semi-circles, and on thermometers numerals are placed in vertical/horizontal lines. Adding and multiplying as well as substracting and dividing require movement through our invariant number sequence in a particular direction for a given distance from a particular point of reference, often zero. Grasp of the meaning of 478, requires grasp of direction, sequence and a point of reference, as well as understanding of the constancy of number despite variability of placement in space. Placement in space defines units, tens and hundreds. Four in this instance speaks of hundreds. In addition, there are space-time ideas in geometry. Geometric forms have a top/botton, left/right and if they are three dimensional, a front/back — three trajectories in space. The learner must grasp the whole shape and thereby must sequentially link the three dimensions.

Space-time in Geography

Mapping skills, too, are rooted in space-time knowing. A map is a graphic representation of the three-dimensional world on a two-dimensional surface. To make a map one must be able to:

1. abstract two dimensions from the three dimensional world of objects in a given space, and graphically represent this abstraction on a two-dimensional surface,

2. identify points of reference in space as well as on a two-dimensional surface. There must be two points of reference, hence a vertical and horizontal coordinate,

3. perceive relative size between the real world and the two dimensional representation of that world.

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7 David B. Guralnik, ed. *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1972) p. 1363

8 Ibid., p. 1489.

Space-time in Social Studies

Current social studies curriculum integrates a wide range of social science ideas, and applies these ideas to social problems including the socialization of children. It, in fact, studies people in space-time. Children look at issues of identity and heritage and answer questions like: Who am I? Where did my ancestors come from? When did I come (in time)? To what groups do I belong? Where did these groups come from? How long ago? Answers to these questions have to do with defining a point of reference in space-time and moving in time-space in a particular direction. The young child is initially tied to "here and now", his time and his space. Ability to move conceptually into the past and future comes with cognitive development. For the preoperational child (up to the age of about 12), a study of his heritage, his immediate geography, his social milieu, his culture HERE and NOW has greatest meaning and serves as a foundation for later understanding of space-time in the past and future.

The Action-Image-Speech Interplay

How does the child learn? Through experience, through imitation, through his senses, through observation, through active involvement in his world, you might say. Indeed, he learns in all of these ways. The common characteristic of these modes of learning is movement — body movement and body interaction with the world. I refer to it as the action-image-speech interplay. It is body movement that puts the senses in touch with the world. Perceptual experiences derived from body movement are organized in images, patterns and relationships. The social world then labels experience, and words are born. Words — speech — are highly abstract symbols, representations of experience. Hence, the action-image-speech interplay is a dynamic process that serves concept formation. A more specific description of this interplay follows, as its implications for learning and the urban child seem critical. While it will of necessity be described in a linear form, it must be clear that at any one moment in time, all three behaviors are occurring, with emphasis residing in different elements at different points in time for each child.

The Role of Movement in Learning

Learning begins with movement. Piaget labels the first two years of cognitive life, the "sensory-motor" period. He states that "... it is primarily preverbal sensorimotor activity that is responsible for the construction of a series of perceptual schemata the importance of which in the subsequent structuring of thought cannot, without oversimplification, be denied."[10] Bruner labels this same period as the "enactive mode of representation."[11] Both scholars are speaking of the coordination of external actions, a practical knowing, a movement knowing. Both view the child as an agent of his own learning. Through a self-environment interaction each self assimilates and accommodates data derived from his own movement into his own schema of knowing. Churchill states,

> ... every movement, however slight, causes modification in the inner environment. For every movement made by the body a corresponding movement occurs in the central nervous system, which is thus being patterned and repatterned by every action. In this way, through a life of active response, the organism is building up within itself a model of the environment with which it is interacting; an inner map of events which enables it in course of time to anticipate external events and interpret phenomena by reference to its inner model.[12]

Thus each child brings his meanings, his personal organization of experience, to the task of learning. His body acts and reacts in a continuing process of perceiving, receiving and responding. The input is affected not only by sensory cues available but also by each individual child's style of responding and the ratio of his sensory perception. What does the child do with perceived data? Sensory impulses travel to the association areas of the cortex where they are integrated and organized. Similarities and differences are juxtaposed to form patterns, images of sensed data.

The Movement-Imaging Interplay

Boulding says, "It is the capacity for organizing information into large and complex images which is the chief glory of our species."[13] Out of his sensed impressions, the human organism finds patterns in his

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9. Lydia A. Gerhardt, *Moving and Knowing* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 168.

10. Jean Piaget, *The Origins of Intelligence in Children* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1952), in foreword.

11. Jerome S. Bruner, *Toward a Theory of Instruction* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1968), pp. 10-11.

12. Eileen M. Churchill, *Counting and Measuring* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961) p. 47.

13. Kenneth E. Boulding, *The Image* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1961) p. 25.

experience. He juxtaposes similarities and differences to make a map of his experience, an inner model of the outer world. And he uses this map to organize his life. Man structures the world as the world structures man. Out of the welter of interconnecting, shifting, and changing impressions bombarding him through all his senses he finds order — pattern, his model of basic relationships.

Without organization he is disturbed, he cannot predict, and so his world lacks form and order. Hence, it is critically important that we help children find patterns in their experience.

Images derived from movement in the world of concrete objects are preserved in an abstraction, removed from the concrete. New experiences are perceived in or through formed images, or they serve to change them. When a new experience doesn't fit our established image, we build a new model, we extend the rules. This is in the nature of Piaget's "accommodation." Clearly, images are recorded experiences which reflect the past and help us understand the present and predict the future. As the link between movement and speech, they are essential to thought.

The Movement-Imaging-Language-Thought Interplay

Bartlett says, "Thinking . . . is biologically subsequent to the image forming process."[14] Man labels experience. Words like images are representations of things that are not present. They, too, are symbols of personal experience and tend therefore to have private meanings. Through a community of experiencing, words develop universal meaning, but even then each listener and reader interprets words through personal experience. Like images, words are abstractions, tools for structuring. They facilitate analysis and synthesis of experience and thereby represent "concepts-in-formation".[15] Thus they are dynamic symbols, every growing and changing. They serve to refine thinking as they differentiate and order it. The word "building" symbolizes one level of knowing, while use of the words "condominium", and "astrodome" reflect another. Language reflects thought but is not itself thought. The relationship between thought and language is a dynamic process. It is characterized by continuous movement from thought to words and from word to thought. Thought is not merely expressed in words but comes into existence through them. And since word meanings are dynamic, the complexity of the thought-word relationship is evident. As the child develops and new demands are made on thought, the nature of word meanings changes and the relationship between thought and words changes. Indeed, concepts are always "information". At first concepts are spontaneous, dependent upon the child's ability to focus and act on objects. At this stage he is not yet able to focus on the act of thought itself. Early schemes are " . . . behavioral forms or structures of the organism that correspond to the coordinating and organizing of external action."[16] "Scientific concepts" emerge as the child learns to recreate his action in his imagination and associate words with his spontaneous knowing. Recreating action implies a focusing of attention on the elements of perception. The child must focus his attention on his perceptions of previous sensory knowing. Vygotsky states, "To become conscious of a mental operation means to transfer it from the plane of action to that of language i.e., to re-create it in the imagination so that it can be expressed in words."[17]

Complex as it sounds, this action-image-speech interplay demands our understanding if we are to help the child to learn. His use of words does not insure his grasp of their meaning though it may contribute to ultimate understanding. Experiences we provide must continually encourage him to ebb and flow between his actions, his images and his speech. "To understand is to invent", says Piaget.[18] If the child is to "invent", to reconstruct knowing, learning experiences must be carefully designed. Let me return now to some particular aspects of space-time knowing.

Orientation in Space-Time

The newborn operates in a physiological space-time. His sense of space-time is tied to his body experience, an amorphous whole locked in degrees of comfort/discomfort. He programs space-time information with his whole body as he moves and as he is moved. His body is formed by his movement as it is informed through his movement. Initially, he is an amorphous whole, undifferentiated from his outside world. He is his world. As his body makes contact through movement with the world, the infant

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14. Sir Frederic C. Bartlett, *Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 225.

15. Frances Minor, "Toward an Art-Science of Questioning: A Critical Inquiry into a Strategic Teaching Function" (Ed. D. dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1967) p. 182.

16. Hans G. Furth, *Piaget and Knowledge* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 51.

17. Lev Semonovich Vygotsky, *Thought and Language*. (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1962), p. 88.

18. Jean Piaget, *To Understand is to Invent* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1973).

gradually separates self from non-self and simultaneously begins to link his inner physiologic rhythms with the rhythms imposed on him by attending adults. His body serves as a point of reference through which space-time data are processed.

As his body makes contact with objects in space, the young child builds an awareness of the parts of his body, as well as the rhythms in this movement. As he exerts a counter thrust against the stabilizing force of gravity, he reorganizes his body parts in time and space to achieve pushing, pulling, kicking, rolling, creeping and later walking, running, jumping and skipping. The development of a gradually more complex movement vocabulary helps him to differentiate the parts of self as it builds space-time knowing. Through movement of both sides of his body against each other, and against the force of gravity and in relation to stable objects, the child builds an awareness of the sides of his body, the top and bottom of his body, and the front and back of his body. At the same time he is building a kinaesthetic sense of the organization of body parts in time and space necessary to achieve each movement task.

A Point of Reference for Viewing Space-Time

Initially, the child is the center of his spatial world, and thereby a personal point of reference through which spatial data are processed. He says, "My daddy is big" because his daddy is taller than he is. Daddy may be five feet tall. He perceives objects in space relative to his own body. By observing objects in space relative to parts of his body, he begins to relate to the space outside himself. Objects exist relative to the top/bottom, left/right, and front/back of his body. Through a multiplicity of experiences with the same objects the child learns that there is constancy and stability in his spatial world despite his movement. A building looks different from the front, the top floor, a boat on the river, but in fact it is the same building seen from many points of reference. This is a critically important understanding.

Gradually, the child shifts his point of reference to a point of reference external to self, to a point in space. He learns that a particular building is on the south side of the park, that the fifth floor is beneath the tenth floor, that the entrance to the building is on the left as you approach it from the subway.

Simultaneously, the child is the center of his time world, a personal point of reference for perception of time. Initially, his physiological systems of respiration, circulation, endocrine and brain activity set a rhythmic orientation. These internal actions affect, as they are affected by, his body movement as well as the rhythms imposed by attending adults. As his unique movement rhythms carry him through time, they also carry the child through space. Through his body movement the young child comes to know a succession of points in time (sequence) and a succession of points in space (distance). Sequence is perceived initially through the sequence of eating, sleeping and playing; later in the sequence of morning, afternoon and evening; and still later in the sequence of January, February, March. Duration, a more complex perception involving the beginning, through to the end of an event, is likewise perceived through movement of self in space. Time to eat, time to sleep, and time to play are sensed through repeated "whole sequences" of body actions and form the foundation of later understanding of the length of a day, week, month and year. So, once again, it is body movement that builds initial space-time understandings.

Let's return for a moment to the example of knowing a building from many different points of view. Quality of knowing that building comes from ordering each successive view in time so as to grasp the three dimensions of that structure. One needs to "construct" knowing, to perceive the relationships of the parts to the whole, and not simply to label many different parts. As the human being moves through space in time, he views his world from a multiplicity of angles. Time permits ordering, structuring and labeling of spatial relationships, thus becoming the fourth dimension of spatial knowing.

Dynamic Balance in Space-Time Knowing

Early survival in life depends upon the establishment of equilibrium between the child's physiological functions and his physical environment. The human body's internal systems of respiration, digestion and circulation interact with food, air and temperature as well as with body movement to create inner equilibrium. Kepes says, "The tendency to find equilibrium governs all natural order."[19] As the body moves and seeks equilibrium it rotates around its three axes — the vertical, horizontal and depth axis. These three axes form a point of reference for all body movement. Further complexity is added by bones, muscles, joints, tendons, ligaments, and cartilage which facilitate some rotations and inhibit others. Through his movement the child also interacts with the force of gravity which provides stability

19. Gyorgy Kepes, ed., *The New Landscape in Art and Science*, Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1956, p. 289.

while it allows for variability. The complexity of his task is further increased as the child sorts out balance in an increasing range of actions: creeping, crawling, standing, walking, running and later hopping, galloping and skipping. He learns to balance himself in as many different ways as the environment encourages. As he shifts his weight onto different combinations of body parts to bring about movement while maintaining balance, he simultaneously builds an awareness of the parts of his body that support that weight, and a sense of the left/right, top/bottom and front/back of his body. It is from this experimentation with locomotion that "sidedness" of self emerges. This sense of body sidedness is called laterality. Laterality is the forerunner of directionality, the projection of body sidedness into objective space. The child aligns himself with stable objects in space and begins to match the sidedness of his body with the location of objects, gradually learning that an object to his left may be reached by moving to his left. As with his development of a point of reference in space-time, initially he perceives self in relation to objects but gradually the object is perceived relative to the sides of self, and eventually relative to other objects in space. In this way he gradually constructs the coordinates of external space.

Summary

We have seen that the child who lives in today's urban setting has fundamental needs common to all children. But, these needs frequently go unmet due to family and social circumstances and the structure of city life which according to Fantini and Weinstein destroy self image, break down affiliations and render human beings powerless. I have also suggested that these psychosocial needs of the child, as well as basic skills of reading and writing, and understandings germane to mathematical, geographic and social thought are rooted in the child's ability to orient himself in space-time. The child must come to understand ideas such as a point of reference, the all sidedness of two and three dimensional objects, and ideas of balance, direction and location; shape and size; length, area and volume; sequence and duration. Further, he must "construct" his own understanding of these ideas through active engagement with his physical and social environment. I described the action-image-speech interplay saying that the child first knows his world through his senses and physical-motor manoeuvres, but later he comes to represent it using non-verbal and verbal symbolic modes which fundamentally alter his thought. The action-image-speech interplay is a dynamic process as the learner moves constantly from action to image to speech to image to action in order to construct his knowing. The child is his own agent for learning and needs a multiplicity of opportunities to actively engage himself if he is to "invent" and to understand. Hence, it is extremely important that he learns by doing, by constructing, by moving, by viewing from many angles. While language is critical to the development of thought, the child's understanding will be shallow if his language is not rooted in his own "constructions".

What does all of this mean for today's child in an urban environment? What does it mean for his school and community? What kinds of experience should we provide? Leon Eisenberg states that inner city children:

1. are concrete learners and concrete thinkers
2. are doers, not talkers
3. show superior physical coordination and skills
4. possess a kind of body language and grace, a style that is physical and visual rather than auditory.
5. are externally oriented rather than introspective; they do rather than reflect on their feelings.
6. have to learn to concentrate, how to look, how to narrow their attention, how to abstract from the situation[20].

Eisenberg suggests that inner city children will learn more easily through body interactions; they will have more difficulty with verbal modes. This is not to say that they cannot learn through language, nor does it say that all their learning must be in the form of physical action. It simply means that we must capitalize on his strength as a concrete learner and lead him gradually to use more abstract modes.

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20. Leon Eisenberg, "Strength of the Inner City Child" in *Schooling in the City*, eds. John Raynor and Elizabeth Harris (London: The Open University Press, 1977), pp. 256-260

Recommendations

It seems to me that the task of the school and community is to help the child build a profound grasp and appreciation of his space-time. The child's family and his heritage, his home and his neighbourhood, his street games and his play spaces, the seasonal rituals and celebrations that give his life meaning must be our points of reference in planning for him. The school and community must help the child:

1. to know points of reference in space-time as well as balance and sidedness, direction and location; shape and size; distance, area and volume; sequence and duration; and to understand these significant space-time ideas as they are embedded in a wide range of modes and disciplines: in art, dance, drama, literature, music; in science, math and social studies.

2. to become an active learner; to construct his own knowing; to build cognitive mastery at his unique level of development.

3. to build commitment to and pleasure in learning and "work".

4. to be a participating member in decisions that affect his space-time; to raise questions and search for answers in personal as well as economic, social, political, physical, scientific and mathematical issues.

5. to deal with personal and interpersonal conflict; to understand his own feelings so that he can identify with the feelings of others.

6. to search for similarities as well as differences in the space-time experiences of others whose lives touch his. I want to emphasize similarities here because I feel we all too often focus attention on difference. Different cultures celebrate similar space-time events — the harvest, light, rebirth, maturity; families come together, food is prepared and eaten, gifts are given.

7. to be an active participant in the rituals and festivals that give his life meaning and build pride in his heritage.

8. to find patterns and rhythms in his space-time experience; to know the pattern of each day, each season and each year. Pattern recognition enables man to predict and thus builds security and a sense of power.

9. to perceive constancy and variability; to know stability where there is change.

10. to feel that he can affect change in his world.

I selected a single idea, the child's need to orient himself in space-time, but one with powerful implications for today's child. I'd like to end by reading some suggestions written by urban children about how they would change their space-time, in this case, how they would change their block.

If I could change my block I would have new house but in it I would have all the bums take out of it. There would be garden where I live. There would be some white people live there we would have all colors not just Negro. There would be 7 room apartment. There be low rent for the poor family. The poor family would have the same thing as the average or rich family have. There would be club for the boys and girls. There would be place where the old could come. Where the young can share their problem.

Kathleen

If I could do anything to change my block tear down the buildings on both sides. And have a school on one side and a center on the other. Inside the center there would be a swimming pool inside and also a gym. And outside a softball field and also four basketball courts.

Charles

If I could do anything to change my block, I would make it clearner no garbage pans open and falling down and not so many fights and don't let it have dead animals in the street.

Sonia

If I could change my block I would take out all of the junkies and I would take out all of the old buildings and put in new ones and give hot water every day and make a play street out of my block. That's what I would do if I could.

Marie

Prose taken from: Herbert Kohl
36 children
New York: Signet Books, 1967

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LECTURE 6

Social action in the city

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Foreword

What do we know about our children? I do not want to know the paradigms of educators, the theories of scientists, the data gathered "in vitro" on units or fragments of our children, all the intelligent things observed or invented by those who revolve around them . . . Mind, I do not refuse the knowledge of experts, and, on occasion, I do let myself be inspired by survey data or by representations . . . But this ever-growing, complex, biased and contradictory mass of information does not give me much, in fact very little, information about my children. Have they the right to speak? Are they mute? Paralysed? Or am I deaf, blind and cold? And yet, I have a whole year to devote to my children, and in fact I have so little time to get to know them. Am I the only one who is ignorant and perplexed? What do you know about your children? Here is where tragedy starts.

The ineffable Janov tells me that my children are like me: "Children are just people, they are just people needing exactly what parents need"[1]. He puts the onus on me: it is up to me now to know myself if I want to know my children. This task of knowing myself is an indispensable venture in achieving the "implosion" of the human bond. And knowledge, like "revolution", must first happen within ourselves, as Henri Laborit writes concerning revolution on the scale of the "inventive man" (l'homme imaginant)[2]. And I should have all possible leisure to get acquainted with myself, with my children and to make our revolution. Pierre Rosanvallon reminds me, rightly I think, "that it is the rhythm of the action which defines the time of revolution"[3]. What is my hurry?

Perhaps it is the premonition that in the city we inhabit we are destined to die, we are dying. The theme of this International Congress "Urban life and the child" does not reassure me. The old sociologist Obermeyer was saying: "Somehow we sense and know that the world we live in doesn't make sense and the way we're going won't be good for our kids"[4]. Actually, you don't know my children. I don't know yours. Do you know your neighbours? I don't know mine. And we all want that there be life in the city, this city, so beautiful at night when we fly over it. This too is our tragedy.

As you can see, before upsetting the city by social action, and before devising a way of treating the "excluded"[5], I want to question myself, question my children, yours, question you, question urban life, the city, our spaces and our times. I also want to give you a few keys, so that you could better hear my version of the human web and of action. I shall finish holus-bolus by proclaiming loudly my roads of hope.

The "drama" (la "dramatique")

I could talk of the problematics of urban life, but as this life is lived, its action and its importance request that we name it by its name: the "drama" (la "dramatique") of urban life. If problematics allow us to conceive actions, drama in addition demands it. We tend to speak of the great crises of our civilization, and conse-

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1. Janov, A., *The Feeling Child,* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1973), p. 202.

2. Laborit, H., *L'homme Imaginant,* (Paris, Union générale d'éditions, 1970), p. 173.

3. Rosanvallon, P., *L'âge de l'autogestion,* (Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1976), p. 100.

4. Obermeyer, C., "Challenger and Contradictions" in *Technology, Human Values and Leisure,* ed. by Max Kaplan and Phillip Bosserman, (Arlington Press, 1971).

5. We define in this work the excluded in the same way as René Lenoir does when referring to the "Other France" that is those who are victims of segregation because of their particular living conditions and state (the physically and mentally handicapped people, the socially misadapted ones . . .) or also to those who are excluded from the proper sharing of wealth such as the poor people . . . See LENOIR, René, *Les exclus* (Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1974). The excluded ones are also those Michael Harrington have identified in his classic study entitled: *The Other America.* They are all those all over the world that poverty "marginalize" no matter where and what type of governments and systems they live in. In fact, a population which has grown unrelentingly up to now.

quently of those of our societies and of our cities, or those of population, of environment, of energy, of nutrition and of some others. For me, as I said when speaking *Of myth, of utopia and of the reality of leisure* "these crises are only the repercussions of much deeper seisms"[6].

As André DePeretti, inspired by the troubles of 1968, indicates more precisely, "an era of shocks, of social seismology has been inaugurated"[7]. These crises reveal deep-felt events within the walls of the city and within those of our homes. I shall mention only a few:

Private alienation

That alienation which, when looking at ourselves, when looking at our children, at our relatives and our neighbours, at those who move around us, causes us not to recognize ourselves anymore. Not to have anything to say to each other is the dead point of personal relationships. The stiff smiles, the absent looks, the tide of meaningless rites . . . This form of alienation is like the refinement of the estrangement and alienation that distances us from a "thing-ified" environment. It is the cold night, the void. Children who dissociate themselves have been quick to understand the absence of authenticity. Others suffer without understanding. Those who are indifferent have understood all too soon.

Aggression

Whether it is aggression against intelligence by a devious bureaucracy, by inexplicable inequalities, by divorce between deed and word, or by information, simply and too stupidly manipulated, whether it is aggression against the body, by imposed clothes, by threats or by physical violence, whether it is aggression against privacy or private life, by blackmail and betrayal, children, as much as adults, are injured. They panic, they are afraid, they retreat or they attack in an almost instinctive reflex of self-defence and survival.

Exclusion

In everyday life as well as during great events the weaks are excluded from great decisions, from conventional games, from legitimate adventures, from the most important rituals, be they private or collective. In spite of the efforts of the human restoration and recycling services, exclusion often follows the obscure and unacknowledged rules of institutionalized and social prejudices, of intolerance and self-interest. Whether it is the vertical actual experience within the system, or the horizontal one among one's peers, such exclusion leads into a tunnel, a blind alley, in other words to social death.

This enumeration of everyday events has been deliberately limited to sections of civil disorganization points performing those delicate and complexe operations which destroy taste for life and the meaning of human experience. I am inclined to think with René Dubos that these events do not derive from "urban life per se, but from poor social organization"[8]. These events are not the object of the usual criticisms directed at organized life and of ideological analyses. But before discussing the wider ground of the "drama" (la "dramatique") of the city, I wanted to set down at the outset, with the debate on social action in mind, these deep psycho-social intrusions of life-weariness and of the urban malaise. They dictate, as we shall see later, a social action close to actual experience, more "ordinary", more implicating, capable of joining, through an inner renewal of the daily experience, the great collective projects.

The wide ground of social action, its expanded "drama" ("dramatique") is social crisis. We might possibly be more convincing if we spoke of the economic crisis, of its now customary "crash", as Jean Fourastié tried to explain to us. Or again of the political crisis, these convulsions of an enormous free-for-all encompass-

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6. Gagné, J., "Les besoins de vacances de la famille ou le mythe, l'utopie et la réalité des temps libres", (On the needs for vacation for the modern family or Myth, Utopia and Realities of Leisure, conference given at the 1973 Annual Meeting of *Vacances Familles Inc.*, translated and distributed by the Vanier Institute of the Family, Ottawa, Canada). Referring to contemporary miseries, I discussed in that paper the following ones: "Technolatry" where emphasis is put on producing goods without almost any kind of controls and without rationality with regard to human goals; — a blind an programmed use of goods; — an alienating social mobility; — a space mobility which creates eradication and isolation although it gives the illusion of belonging to a vague world citizenry; — the expansion of worldwide communications generating enough noise and disturbance to affect the character and authenticity of human relations; — the "massification" of human behaviours and the related production of an organized culture; — the void of significant personal and collective life affirmative projects.

7. Peretti, A. de, *Risques et chances de la vie collective*, (Paris, La Documentation française, 1978), p. 119.

8. Dubos, R., *Choisir d'être humain*, (Paris, Éditions Denoël, 1974), p. 93.

ing the mad adventures of the most complex eliminating process. I know very well that the political crisis is possibly more insidious than the economic crisis and that it perverts healthy human tensions into relations of domination and exploitation. The cultural crisis of the colonized . . . the ecological crisis of those, like us, who are irresponsible and inconsistent? They all seem to converge, to concentrate in social relations, their favorite ground, which seems once more to have broken away from history to slide uncertainly towards the "aleatory future" spoken of by Simon Nora and Alain Minc[9]. In other words, the great drift! Not the drift of conquests with acknowledged hopes, creative tensions but that of boredom. Unless, as René Dubos writes "social evolution and all civilizations deriving from it are possibly only the result of the sustained efforts of humanity to get out of the world in which it is bored"[10]. Or is it the "flight ahead" of which Philippe d'Iribane speaks?[11] We do not have the time, for ourselves and for our children, to pretend, if the slightest likelihood for rebirth exists, to be above every kind of determinism and to grapple with what is a human product, with the facts and constructions of our civilized animal species that are within the reach of our imagination and our action. However, let us follow the advice of subtle Talleyrand to his coachman: "Go gently, I am in a hurry".

Indeed, let us go gently, for we are on the mined ground of "organized society" and, at the same time, on the archeological ground of the rich human experience of our civilization. With all the possible reservations I can express, let us say, between ourselves, that Paul Goodman was perhaps right when he directed all his social criticism toward "centralized organization", "because for him", says Bernard Vincent, "centralism is a choice against nature, generator of modern alienation. It is therefore this, which must be chiefly analysed, opposed and changed"[12]. The centralism that pollutes our social, economic, political and cultural relations to the extent of divesting them of human meaning has infiltrated all groups, from the most individual and private to the most collective and societal. Even if its roots go back to the "advent of the machine", centralism has frozen our idea of the social undertaking. Lewis Munford's statement, when analysing the era he calls "paleotechnical", that "environment as well as human life are being treated as an abstraction"[13] is still timely. Without a "de-blocking" of the social organization there is little hope that social action will be a life affirmative work.

Such "de-blocking" of the individual and of organized society requires us to pass through a tightly woven and strong screen, for it is both outside us and inside us. This screen, made up of the technical and of the societal, feeds our phantasms and is fed by them, to the point of having become as powerful as the ancient mythologies and their age-old rites. "Technolatry", that is the worship of the technical extension of man by man, is not any longer just respect but plain worship for the technical object that through the centuries has allowed us to assert ourselves and to develop, to produce what we informally call the miracles of science. The technical object has conquered the master, it has imposed on him its dance and its rituals. "Technolatry" has consumed our life and our human energies and has "thing-ified" us. "Sociolatry", this second panel in our modern religions, leads us to accept organized society as a gift of the gods and an immutable gain. It has imposed on us its systematic dances, cold and calculating. By its motions and rituals it "distances" us from each other while at the same time imposing on us functional and structural solidarities, soulless and without warmth. It is the "anthropological hole" of which Jacques Grand'Maison speaks[14]. And it secretes entropically the society in which we survive. I realize that, in these times of inertia which succeed creative effort, we are led to worship and contemplate our creations. But the defences for supporting the future for us and our young people lie precisely in our awareness of the "thing" not being us but the social undertaking that we worship, that we have created ourselves and that we can, with humility and no loss of dignity, replace on the drawing-board.

The back-cloth encompassing the events we have already defined is the "drama" (la "dramatique") which demands a definite social action. We cannot evade the reconstruction of the social undertaking and we must have the courage to throw light on our great drift rather than abandon our children to the great sleep.

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9. Simon, N. and Minc, A., *L'informatisation de la societe*, (Paris, La Documentation française, 1978), p. 119.

10. Dubos, R., Ibid, p. 153.

11. Iribane, P. d'., *La politique du bonheur*, (Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1973), p. 117 and the following pages.

12. Vincent, B., *Paul Goodman et la reconquête du present*, (Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1976), p. 39.

13. Mumford, L., *Technique et civilisation*, (Paris, Éditions du Seuil), p. 156, quoted in the Peretti, ibid, p. 95.

14. Grand'Maison, J., *Quelle societe?*, (Montréal, Lemeac, 1978), p. 29.

We can do this by tackling, coherently and with a concerted effort, all layers of the social structure and by making our society project clear to ourselves and to our children, trusting in our collective ability for self-criticism. Our social action will not be a senseless dance if we remain in touch with actual experience, with the bread and butter, with the flesh and the spirit! We must be watchful lest these social tasks, useless through the centuries, which excite us and thwart boredom, should be a betrayal of life. "Modern societies will be able to escape from their chronic boredom" says René Dubos, "only by adding to the values of technological life the rich sensory experiences of primitive life, experiences etched in the genetic code of the human species"[15]. Crusades will always carry the promise of hope if we are aware off and recognize our despair and use it to goad us to action. The "drama" is both point of departure and point of arrival, it is, with its motivation and objectives, the wherefore of social action. If before speaking of action I speak now of means, it is because, before concentrating on the "what", we must take inventory of the tools, of the "how", those to be re-used, those to be rediscovered, and those to be invented. It is certainly full of doubts and humility that I approach the category of means, even though I do not hold with the great historical refusal[16].

The tools

At the largely concrete level of querying the "how", I must remain within reality, within the world of possibilities, even if these possibilities are perhaps still to be invented. I face the task of change, of great upheaval and, why not, of social revolution. Is this task within the realm of the possible? Is it human or an act of the gods? At this stage the grounds for reflection are manifold, contradictory, "heuristic" . . . but of little use for a brief answer. As André DePeretti reminds us, Galileo's fate has made many a man think twice.

DePeretti, who spent some time assessing *The risks and possibilities of collective life*, comes to the conclusion that "in the end everything should change, but nothing changes collectively"[17]. Some are categorically voluntarist. For Peter Atteslander "only the future of individuals is branded by fate. That of society is not". And he adds "we have the power to act on our future, to shape it: What is unexpected is precisely the fact that technological development can be influenced by social evolution and must be so influenced"[18]. This is clear, and we can thus circumvent those who question the possibilities of forecasting change and of measuring it, or those who seem to have put all their eggs into the basket of all kinds of determinisms, or those who are waiting for the Great Night . . . The trouble is that I am quite willing to believe with Atteslander that revolution is possible, but I must then express a certain faith in technology, in the machine, even though he gives precedence to the social fact. At best I could follow Toffler, who is criticized by Atteslander, if I placed my soul in the keeping of "ombudsmen" and put my trust in those technocrats who will hand me the society I have asked for[19]. "But", DePeretti reminds me, "the complexity of phenomena seems to grow and the consequences of action appear contradictory." And he therefore concludes "that it is not anymore possible to imagine naively the possibility of social change"[20].

The road traced by Professor Laborit is a generous one, but very narrow. I could possibly trust in Touraine's confidence in his means for measuring and forecasting the course of history. Alain Touraine states: "Today it falls to the sociologist, as yesterday it did to the economist, to write the history of tomorrow"[21]. I prefer to listen, without parochialism, to Professor Guy Rocher, closer to us, who expresses doubts about the pretentions of his own science and cautiously informs us that "sociologists must recognize

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15. Dubos, R., Ibid, p. 159.

16. The matter of means should normally follow the identification of the kind of activities social action requires. However, the work of civilization and the kind of change social action implies are part of large debates putting forward the question of possibilities. René Lenoir, already quoted, reminds us that "the feeling that major powers are beyond human control renders some people powerless and makes policies useless". On the other hand, we think that it would be too easy to start from scratch and to define tasks that are beyond our possibilities. Exploration of the how's first begins with our own self discovery and the analysis of our real possibilities with regard to changing our destiny. The dialectics between means and ends are basic to our study of the how's and to the drafting of major social tasks.

17. Peretti, A. de., Ibid, p. 28.

18. Atteslander, P., *Les derniers jours du présent*, (Paris, Denoël, 1973), p. 336.

19. Toffler, A., *Future Shock*, (New York, a Bantam Book, Random House, 8th printing, 1971), p. 440 and the following pages.

20. Peretti, A. de., Ibid, p. 78.

21. Touraine, A., *La société post-industrielle*, (Paris, Denoël, 1969) quoted in Louis Quesnel, "Sociologie de l'action", dans *Les theories de l'action*, (Paris, Centre d'Etude et de promotion de la lecture, 1972), p. 442.

that they can hardly make predictions on a scientific basis"[22]. René Dubos goes beyond these questions of measurement and brings me just the hope I need to continue this discourse on social action. He reminds us that "while all representatives of the human race have everywhere and for a very long time displayed the same fundamental traits, they have created, by their spirit of adventure and fantasy, innumerable social formulas which are ever changing and, through these changes, transform life"[23].

But wait, I am still going to attempt in my own way, as a crisis exists anyway, and as my children are waiting for me, the critical inventory of the tools known to me and an expression of my needs and resources, as all today's good technocrats say. And, as would my sociologist-philosopher, humanist and down-to-earth compatriot Jacques Grand'Maison do, I rub my hands and go experimenting along his trails. The trails offered by Grand'Maison are easier to discern. I can always turn back and, besides, I will not, like Toffler's experts, have to ask people what they want, as it is with them that Grand'Maison proposes to follow the road of action.

In brief, the tools of social action in the city should first of all allow us to attempt, personally and collectively, to become fully conscious, that is, on the one hand to awaken and tame our most human realities, on the other, to discover our limitations and our possibilities for the rebuilding, in conjunction with our families and the people of our cities, a renewed social structure. If this consciousness expresses itself in the will, and even better, in the power to reconstruct, we shall be able, gently because there is a crisis, to choose the sites, the materials and the shapes for our cathedrals, basing ourselves on the historical and actual material, which is not unknown to us; and last, we will be able to conceive, if we see fit, in order to be at ease, the sites, material and shapes. The expression "cathedral" may seem pretentious, but there is nothing more lofty than the work of social reconstruction, even if it is only within ourselves. We must accept to be reborn by examining thoroughly the crucible which is going to grind our experience in order to extract from it the elixir, for this instrument of life could, in our day and age, hide a complex machine capable of either anticipating our creation and absorbing it to feed its mechanism. We shall also have taken a stand for culture. For it is Marcel Hicter who sums us up when he writes that "culture means for men of the city to become conscious," for "culture without actions is a dead culture"[24]. This exercise is not an end in itself but an affirmation of life, of creation and of culture if it aims at the reconstruction of the social undertaking which the "drama" (la "dramatique") of which we have spoken urges us to attempt. People of my city, are we going to build our society with or without Toffler's experts, or are we still going to wait for the miracle?

It is when faced with this type of questions that we start to discover the ways in which we are similar and those in which we differ. Our states of being, our expectations, our visions, our perceptions and our words are of exponential growth which thus renders uncertain our project for a society. But it is through these tensions that the non-existing city shall be generated. This fact should not inhibit our deeds and our words, and the exercise must give us time, space and means to learn. René Dubos reminds us that "diversity helps each human being to discover what he is and what he is capable of doing and what he wants to become"[25]. We owe it to ourselves to acknowledge that the urban environment presents the fascinating but threatening spectacle of an explosion which the genii of the city were unable to contain. This environment which is outside us and which we will have to force to "inplode", to melt in order to reveal its tenor and to make it suitable to support our projects will perhaps be that "against something else" of which Laborit speaks and which is essential to the shaping of the "unity of the species"[26]. In any case "this knot of conflicts that is our city is," according to Goodman, apostle of the "conflictual community", "a golden opportunity as long as exchanges can continue to exist, as long as the contact can be maintained"[27]. It is up to us to invent the means and to create a place for words and exchanges rather than to let ourselves be overwhelmed by the complexities, both vertical and horizontal, of these manifold

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22. Rocher, G., "Introduction à la sociologie générale", in *Le changement social*, quoted in Louis Quesnel, Idem, p. 442.

23. Dubos, R., Ibid, p. 192.

24. Hicter, M., "Une civilisation de la liberté", in *La civilisation des loisirs*, (Verviers, Belgique, Collection Marabout Université, 1967), pp. 132-133.

25. Dubos, R., Ibid, p. 109.

26. Laborit, H., *L'Homme et la ville*, (Paris, Flammarion, 1971), p. 179.

27. Vincent, B., Ibid, p. 201.

social relationships and human relations. When people must share time and space, incompatible or antithetical social relationships may become conflictual. What we need are significant cross-roads. The tensions and the multiple sociations of the city must be lived and harnessed in open spaces. Our tools will have to help us to build reception spaces, "cradle structures", to "build a strategy of horizontal relationships"[28] as Grand'Maison suggests. A strategy of horizontal relationships in a system open vertically would provide a restoring fabric for the manifold, wandering and diffuse sociations, home ports for the mobile citizenry, anchoring possibilities for those who like, according to Dubos' expression, "live in camp".

This vertical growth which lends opacity to the city, makes it also difficult to approach and unruly, despite its appearance of civilization. This last fact must be seriously taken into consideration in order to choose the means to restore to the city its clarity and its significant spaces. People of the city, there is here matter for creativity. Retrograde ideas, parochial, village or tribal nostalgias are here of little use. René Dubos was almost tempted by them when he explained that "the psychological need of belonging to a community could also perhaps revive, under a modern guise, the tribal life which was for such a long time the social basis of humanity and the historical justification of nationalism"[29]. He avoided the snare by leaving it to us to imagine the "modern guise". The quest for finding roots in a place, in a physical and human setting is not obsolete, but our wild solutions to this quest are. "Besides, writes Jean-Claude Marsan, "the neighbourhoods and the streets which still contribute most to the character of the Montréal environment are precisely those in which the collective has taken over its milieu."[30] Here is a road that allows us to join in action the "horizontal strategy". It is not a matter of flattening the city, of increasing boredom, of building prisons or ghettos; quite the contrary, it is a matter of overcoming the endemic boredom that always drives us to escape elsewhere, of looking at the intimate events already mentioned of domesticating the cold and savage environment, of offering to our children a place, a room for living, development and creativity. Here our tools are rather limited. But a strategy of contact, of speech, of information and of communication must be invented anew in accordance with our difficulties, our technical means and our human needs. There are those who have already imagined scenarios. We have spoken before of the people of the city taking over the streets and the neighbourhoods. Goodman does not want to see the modern metropolis turned into an obstacle to the "communal restructuring". "In many ways", he stresses, "the city with a population of five millions can be organized in decentralized ways into tens or hundreds of unique communities without ceasing to be an active metropolis"[31]. Irving Louis Horowitz suggests a scenario for New York featuring the spreading-out of five cities in the American metropolis[32]. Of this integration in space and time René Dubos said: "Individually and collectively it would be to our advantage to cultivate in our relations with the outside world that subtle value expressed by the Muslim word "baraka" — the magic that comes from long and intimate contact with things as well as with fellow-men and from which a quality emanates that transcends the quality of the persons or objects concerned"[33]. This magic might act as a counterbalance to the great Weberian "disenchantment". So it is not by chance, as Jacques Grand'Maison says, that "the majority of people seek places in which to find reasons for living and a contentment not found elsewhere"[34].

We just had a glimpse of the difficult ground of the social undertaking: the paradoxes of social change, the dilemmas of action, the recognition of the complexity of the city where the human, steel and concrete are bound together, where expectations explode and tensions are nurtured; where at the top of the vertical division the powers of "hegemony", opaquely aggressive, find their place, including, according to the expression of Gramsci, the supremacy of governing and directing.

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28. Grand'Maison, J., Ibid, p. 28.

29. Dubos, R., Ibid, p. 204.

30. Marsan, J.-C., "Le Développement futur de Montréal, tendances et alternatives", *Critère*, (Montréal, Collège Ahuntsic, Revue Critère) Spring 1977, no. 17.

31. Vincent, B., Ibid, p. 200.

32. Horowitz, L.I., "Separate but equal: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in the American City", in *The American Scene — Social Problems of the Seventies*, ed. by Saxton, L. and Kaufman, W. (California, Belmont, Wadsworth Co., 1971), p. 113.

33. Dubos, R., Ibid, p. 204.

34. Grand'Maison, J., Ibid.

But to fulfill the social undertaking, to reconstruct for the child the social structure, means also to organize the social relationships and human behavior within the framework of laws, of social policies and of multiple social mechanisms. The specific character of this entity of realities as part of the social structure is its usefulness to the life of the people of the city. Looking at our way of life one is inclined to wonder whether we do not live for and through the laws, the policies and the state mechanisms.

Laws, like constitutions, have always been closely associated with bibles . . . and the more the sacred aspect recedes, the more these laws, combined with policies, directives and procedures compel the people of the city to accept them as the only shared point of reference. Replacing the sacred, these laws soon become untouchable and take on a dictatorial character. They guide us, acquit us, condemn us. They can serve as alibis to the uncertainty, ignorance, inertia of the agents who transmit, apply, control them . . . Legislators, like technocrats, are possibly unaware of the divine role entrusted to them by our organized but idle society. Let us take an example. One of the most recent Québec laws for the protection of youth is explicitely exceptional, for in actual experience and everyday life, citizens take responsibility for themselves. It is self-evident and generally recognized that it is this actual experience, this everyday life that must be reached, enriched and kept alive. But what goes on in the life of the young? Nothing more, nothing less, except for those who are exceptional. The recognition of failure expressed by Professor Alice Parizeau[35] comes already too late. The many interveners in social affairs, justice, health and education work hard and with sincerity, honesty, competence and efficiency to apply this promising law, bearer of generous and avant-garde ideas. But we can hear great anxiety bubbling in the cauldron. The law has become law, and its field of application, over the heads of parents and children, has turned into an arena in which professionals of every stamp compete; it has become the thing around which one must organize and be organized, around which questions of professional practice, of efficiency are debated . . . It is a production of actors essential to the application of the law, but not to the protection of our children. I do not want to discuss here, being judge and party at the same time, the effectiveness of the law for the protection of youth.

This law is, however, fresh enough in our memory for us to remember all the great speeches as well as the battles that attended its gestation and its birth: priorization of the natural environment, the child subject to law, de-judiciarization, the beginnings of a charter of the rights of the child, etc. The fundamental debate around the recasting of this law is as good as ended, when it actually was just beginning; this debate was first a bearer of life styles, a bearer of new relationships within the family and neighbourhood groups, a bearer of a much wider commitment by our society to support life, actual experience, everyday living. This second and third floor debate never came down to the ground floor of real life. This is a fact. I am not accusing anyone in particular. I am aware that unless a down-to-earth strategy is adopted, a horizontal strategy, this law, like all our laws and policies, will never be relinquished by the dictatorial, that it will be holy writ and only too often become an alibi for the lack of consciousness and irresponsibility of the whole. This law which has more than ever placed responsibility on whole sections of our public machinery will also contribute to the great silence when the second and third floors of the social structure put out their lights or think of something else . . . Let us say that the protection of youth is too important to remain in the keeping of the laws and of the state machinery. But how can we renew the debate, go beyond the law, the establishment; how can we send the holy writ back to the drawing-board, adjust the instrument to experience, make use of the whole key-board? Each law is only a stage in what the Canadian bar called a relay race . . . My only question is: who takes part in the race? Laws demand continuous revisions, but they must, foremost, revolve around a continuous debate. Fortunately our government has not yet offered to the children and the parents of my city a coherent set of policies for family living. The battle to achieve social action is perhaps not lost.

The human resources agencies (schools, law courts, prisons, hospitals, social services centres, social aid offices, legal aid offices, etc.) are also part of the tools to be inventoried. These agencies are engaged in looking after those excluded, and all have a mission consistent with their respective category. Here we have a good example of paper technocracy. Jacques Grand'Maison's verdict is very harsh. Basing himself on the principle that "a society is judged by the fate it reserves for its weakest members"[36], he questions the industry concerned with the "excluded" and consequently our society that, in his words, is an "a-society". The city has all the resources, cumulated through the years, amassed by a process

35. Parizeau, A., *Protection de l'enfant: echec?*, (Montréal, Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1979).

36. Grand'Maison, J., Ibid.

which our present Minister of Finance rightly calls of "sédimentation". If it were only one of those erections which René Dubos designates as unnecessary undertakings, I would go on to my next theme. But no, this is a matter of key machinery in the administration of the state, the "Tout-État" according to Goodman's expression. It is the state version of the tools of social action. It is the sky-scraper between the people of my city and those who govern it. To make them relevant, authentic, respectful and effective tools, the seism of Goodman's "de-centralism" would be needed. Are we afraid to see this mass of institutions dispersed among the people of the city, among the streets of the city? It is for you to judge between the value of an unending crumbling within a large unit and the value of a dispersal, even brutal, near the places in which we live. And that dispersal need not be brutal . . . Which is the most costly? To break youth in distant and top-heavy institutions, or to support a light and spread-out infra-structure? No, before classifying this whole as one of the tools of the social undertaking, its functional obsolescence and decay must be overcome. It is too heavy even for the state and fills only erratically its function as a link between those governing and the people of the city. Created to have need of clients, its size has put it beyond the pale of a decreasing rentability.

To succeed with a certain "de-centralism", each part of the machinery involved in this whole would first have to discover its real instrumental nature, would have to relinquish its bureaucracy, and its acting class would have to relinquish its technology as well. To accept the aleatory and the finite is a prerequisite for the daily dialogue, for private contacts and for the strong expression of ordinary people who would accomplish with it, basing themselves on their own daily experience, the reconstruction of the social structure within each individual, within each community and within the city.

Among the tools needed for the undertaking of social action, we find the people of the city, moving, organized, excluded, integrated . . . One must read the extremely serious analysis Donald McGraw has made of the popular groups of Montréal,[37] or reread the study of the voluntary association in France (in the Lorraine) reported on by M. F. Lanfant, in order to grasp the difficulties in finding an authentic anchorage, a daily exercise for the functions of citizen. One must remember the failure of the war against poverty, the great American adventure which ended in the long, hot summers. The Federation of Family Unions of Québec underlines, in a voluminous report on housing, how little effect the participation of the population had on the municipal authorities of Montréal[38]. Jacques Grand'Maison reports the same kind of observations . . . We are far from the exuberant reports of the sixties, those of the *Bureau d'Aménagement de l'Est du Québec* among others, or of Mario Carota on the citizens' committees in Canada . . . People who have lived through these experiences say and say again, and I know it for having been acquainted with a number of them, that this experience has marked them, that it has been both happy and unhappy in terms of participation, of relationships with the immediate groups, or of the results obtained. But is it sufficient for contemplating a repetition of this exercise following the same road?

It is useless to organize the non-organized. This is the first lesson to be learned from the experiences of the last two decades. For having been the first Interim-President of the Canadian Conference of the Non-organized and despite all the analytical tests to which I may be subjected, my experience supports the conclusion which I must bring to bear on a youthful error. Humanly speaking it was one of the most heartwarming experiences I have lived. But the people who hoped to see their lot improved were not able, according to Ralph Nader's expression "to devote themselves to the daily exercise of their function of citizens and to really assume the responsibility of government"[39]. They were as much deprived of power as the British urban citizens studied by Thomas Blair[40]. But besides the organized and the organized non-organized, there are people in the city, some in the feminist movements, some in the groupings of the publicly assisted, the unemployed, some in the "parallel" movements of the so-called "counter-culture" who emerge and make themselves heard . . . Their voices come from very far away, from the small awareness groups, from the small neighbourhood groups, from the communes or intentional groups or from other non-conventional ones. We can learn from them and we must listen. We must open the

37. McGraw, D., Le développement des groupes populaires à Montréal (1963-1973), Montréal, ed. Coopératives Albert St-Martin, 1978).

38. Fédération des Unions de Familles, *Avant de se retrouver tout nu dans la rue*, directed by Jean Simoneau, (Montréal, Parti-Pris, 1977), p. 178.

39. Nader, R., *Main basse sur le pouvoir*, (translated from Fromental, J.-L. and Landon, F., Ed. Spéciale J.-C. Lattès, 1973), p. 17.

40. Blair, T.L., *The International Urban Crisis*, (Paladin Books, 1974).

gates of the city and allow the people of the city to build themselves spaces. What are they going to do? Rebuild the social structure? I do not know. But only by allowing these tides of conscience to rise, by accepting at least to be instrumental and by taking time to learn, jointly, to will this reconstruction can we achieve it. I have been unjust here to all the mutual aid groups, to the movements, the organizations that have worked or are still working in pursuing particular objectives and interests. Denise Taillefer, for example, describes the happy experiments in participation of parents in the life of the school[41]. There are surely other examples of projects for communal schools similar to that of the Villeneuve of Grenoble described by Rolande and Raymond Millot[42]. But these projects, like the conscious tides of the excluded and of other people of the city, have a long way to go. Between the pursuit of utopia, even a realistic and reasonable one, and the punctual commitments there lies the honest and safe road of gentle experimentation fitted to daily life and lived experience. Jacques Grand'Maison would give them self-organizing and self-administrating objectives . . . A line clearer than that of participatory democracy and of social-democracy. This is perhaps the alternative offered by Garaudy: "A society in which the free development of each is a pre-condition to the free development of all"[43]. It is also Rosanvallon's self-administration, only more rigid, with its rules of experimentation resembling prohibitions[44]. In limiting themselves, within the actual experience, to representations and due process only, there is also the implicit premise that these people will determine the content. Their contribution to the social undertaking of reconstruction will be to self-administrate, to self-organize, and, following Ralph Nader, why not to self-determine the results . . . Here in the cities of Québec we have understood the meaning and the importance of self-determination. The steps to be taken to acquire a democracy of self-determination, a democracy in which the choice made be the grass-roots is not drowned by the electoral machine of the liberal democracies, are within the range of possible paths.

I would not want to close this statement concerning the tools necessary to the undertaking of social action without underlining the importance of setting-up rules of operation. I do not want to set-up any here, apart from saying that every person responsible for an important change will first look for it within herself in terms of her actual experience.

Social action means essentially to perform collective work by re-inventing and reconstructing oneself in the hope that such action will possibly, in a spirit of "conviviality", merge with the collective undertaking. To repatriate one's destiny is the only way to be able to fulfill it. To fulfill it with others, for others, is a second step to be taken; but then, the order of things and the order of the city will already have started to change.

Of social action

There is a social crisis, the children are waiting for us, let us assume quietly a common competence[45]. That competence to learn from actual experience, from everyday life, and to draw from them the relevant elements for whatever action is needed, particularly action to establish non-negociable consensus. This common competence could possibly be child/child, parent/child, citizens/citizens, professional/citizen. The meaning of accomplishment is to prepare common, relevant and constructive ground for exchange and for change. A "private de-alienation", "the convergence of the projects of individuals dialoguing coherently"[46]. Common competence means abolishing distances. Jacques Grand'Maison bases this experiment in aid relationships on the necessity of a social pedagogy: "In all sectors in which a collective, liberating and fertile promotion is desired, no effective pedagogy exists without a "we", a language, a judgement, and an action that interacts in the concrete field of experience of the principals"[47].

41. Taillefer, D., "Les parents à l'école", in *Prevention en sante mentale*, Québec, Editeur Officiel du Québec, 1978).

42. Millot, Rolande and Raymond, *Une voie communautaire*, (Casterman 1979).

43. Garaudy, R., *L'Alternative*, (Paris, Laffont, 1972), p. 220 and the following pages.

44. Rosanvallon, P., Ibid.

45. Grand'Maison, J., Ibid, p. 43 and the following pages.

46. Perroux, F., *Aliénation et société industrielle*, (Paris, NRF, p. 31), quoted in André de Peretti, Ibid, p. 81.

47. Grand'Maison, Ibid, p. 77.

The undertaking of social action cannot be assumed in haste, at all events only and outside the concrete ground of actual experience.

We have known for a long time that beyond expertise and punctual interventions, to reach both private events and the "drama" (la "dramatique") of the social crisis, the basic stratagem lies in the organization of life. Added to the acts of caring and servicing lies the common search for a way of thinking and being and the corresponding transformation of the immediate surroundings that announce the reversal of human investment in the search for a better life. Cumulative experiments, tests on restricted units of horizontal life settings are liable to induce a communicative experience and to engage the reconstruction of the communal urban fabric, called life milieu, but which we do not need to name at present, as we will have to experiment, invent and live the new conciliation and concertation. René Dubos reminds us: "Many civilizations have not only survived the trauma of new life styles but have drawn from them the inspiration and strength needed to renew themselves"[48].

We will have to engage all the elements of the great network of human investments into the reconstruction and the renewal of the social fabric and of the city. We must reduce the vertical distance that, according to Garaudy's expression, renders "opaque" the mechanisms of action, of service and of decision making. We must build abodes of concertation, of cohesion and of synthesis. The experiments of intermediary technology and of soft technology could inspire us to re-create those transparent modules capable of supporting a social pedagogy and a common competence. Among other tasks, Jacques Grand'Maison tells us, "we must pay particular attention to local institutions and specially to the setting for their implantation. We must give a renewed dynamism and coherence to the social ground, taking into account original aspirations"[49]. This concerted network will not emerge without the development of horizontal or environmental strategies, and without "restoring the various competences" as Jacques Grand'Maison says, "to a common strategy without dividing walls, unified and diversified at the same time"[50]. Finally we should decentralize data processing and allow multiple units to master, until quite familiar with them, the great means of communication which until now have been shrouded in mystery. This is what Simon Nora and Alain Minc call "socializing information". These authors remind us that "this presumes that most citizens would be able to join in collectives or associations, either public or private, and find the tools to gather and use the information that justifies their project"[51]. The means placed at the disposal of concerted networks matter little as they will have to take their place in a horizontal strategy, endeavour to involve both the excluded and the integrated in contributing to the in-plosion of human and social ties of aid and mutual aid.

Conclusion

To undertake the social task or that of reconstruction and renewal, or of culture, means at the same time an undertaking of civilization. Our children must know that the standstill we seem to be experiencing in today's city is not a historical refusal but a collective search for a better life, a search in which they can take part.

The therapeutic mysteries of the magicians of old must not work against us anymore for the benefit of un-avowed personal interests. The high-ranking servants of the State and the administrators must also participate in a social pedagogy that will allow them to establish real contacts and to be authentic, having fully realized the instrumental dimension of their undertaking.

To reverse the perspectives of action, to de-structurize and decentralize the intervention staffs means in the long run to recycle a state. To have the state relinquish its bureaucracy, and its personnel relinquish its technocracy, means foremost to try for a radical change in mentality. The beginning of these great seisms can only start within simple relationships, at the ground level of experience, within each individual, the integrated and the excluded. The contemporary crisis is, as we have said, a social crisis and we must first investigate the social question and the ground-level consensus, from the private to the societal level. Individuals must recognize themselves in others and in the collective projects.

48. Dubos, R., Ibid, p. 133.

49. Grand'Maison, J., Ibid, pp. 19-20.

50. Grand'Maison, J., Ibid, p. 50.

51. Simon, N. and Minc, A., Ibid, p. 123.

For the state as for the individual, to assume responsibility means to ask the social question before the political and the economic question; it means for all parties concerned to table a clear social contract before any other convention; it means presenting a social budget before a book-keeping budget. People of the city, demand that, for you and your children, the social question be placed at the heart of the debates in your city and in your country. People are dying of boredom, they have lost touch, they do not recognize each other . . . The social question is the daily bread and butter. Economic summits are comedies if the social consensus has not been established. Let us remind world governments that they must take on the responsibility of debating publicly the social question.

The theme of the next International Year has surely been fixed, otherwise it would be necessary to remind us of the social crisis lived on a universal scale. I shall prefer a year of silence, as our governments will again have to play with figures before they realize that they are playing with people. Also I shall prefer a year of silence to listen to ordinary people of my city, to better know myself and have a better knowledge of my people and achieve the discovery of our children.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE 2nd GENERAL THEME

Mr. Michel Gagné, Coordinator of the Commission of Primary Education,
Conseil Supérieur de l'Éducation

The second theme of the Congress invited the participants to look at the fate of "the child outside the family in the city". The emphasis was thus placed on the urban environment by trying to discover in what way this environment was or could show itself hospitable to the child.

Mr. Philippe Ariès, in charge of presenting this theme, brought to life for us various aspects of the city through the ages and through the evolution of societies, showing us that a certain need for privacy among individuals and among the propertied groups had little by little increased the private space within the city to the detriment of communal urban life, sometimes even to the detriment of the life of the child, dispossessed of and expelled from a number of spaces.

Three sub-themes were further presented in order to study more thoroughly a few aspects of observed reality.

First Mr. Kevin Lynch shared his thoughts on "the habitat, the street, the neighbourhood and other urban spaces". His principal ideas were taken up in a first discussion group and represented in the following statements:

— The participants deem it most important to first underline that there are no identical two cities, two neighbourhoods, two children.

— They further stress the importance that all children included be sensitized to the possibility of acting on the environment in order to be able, with confidence in their possibilities, to undertake an action with bearing on themselves, their times, their street, the community resources, their neighbourhood or the whole city.

— They are however aware of the reality of some substantial obstacles: too many structures and specialists in time and in space; an inaccessible power of decision making; the absence of community life; a "system" in which verbal and concrete encouragement to participate is wanting; the exclusion of the real places and the real life learning situations; the lack of information apt to support action.

— Faced with these obstacles, the participants are unable to offer solutions, but modestly propose a few samples of possible actions: increased participation of citizens in school and municipal planning; the allocation of spaces dedicated to games and great adventures; the distribution of recreation spaces in proportion to residential density; precedence given to pedestrians over cars; the conservation of natural spaces for the benefit of children.

In second place Mrs. Lydia Gerhardt centered her lecture on "the school, extra-curricular activities and the full use of educational equipment". Her subject led the second discussion group to express the following consideration and propositions:

— The group agrees with Dr. Gerhardt's submission stating that the city child is not particularly different from other child, but that his needs are frequently not fulfilled.

— They subscribe to the opinion that space and time are factors that the school must take into account in its duty to support the development of the child, and that teaching cannot ignore the child's family, his past, his neighbourhood, his usual games and his favorite spaces.

— The participants entrust the educators with the responsibility of encouraging cultural diversity even if this were to require better training. This is the *wish* they finally express. In this respect they note that Québec is only starting to open up to these kind of "differences", differences that children accept quite readily.

— Turning to the developmental theories of Piaget led the group to advocate that classes adopt ways of learning that support movement and action in the child. To succeed it is of course important that educators be made more conscious of this reality in the course of their training. The group does indeed express this consideration in a *firm recommendation*, adding that university teaching should also favor *practical* training for teachers-in-training. According to the opinion of a number of participants it would be desirable as well if parents were urged to understand the importance of these conditions in the learning situations they offer their children.

— The group considers that the constant attention of the educator concerning the abilities of the child should foster teaching adapted to his type of intelligence (visual, auditive, analytical or synthetic). A more adequate training for educators is to be wished for in this respect.

— The participants have the impression that the needs of children whose parents exert little influence on the school are less well satisfied than those of parents "with a greater say".

— Finally the group insists that greater respect be showed to individuals rather than to the norms governing groups.

Last came Mr. Jacques Gagné who thoroughly analysed "social action in the city". In the wake of the statements made by this speaker, a third discussion group underlined certain concerns, a few of which led to the following recommendations:

— Taking into consideration the necessary limits of governmental intervention, the need of an open and decentralized organization of social and health services, the necessity of "humanized" relations between the many interveners and the child, the group *recommends* that social laws as well as the structures devised for their implementation should encourage diverse forms of social commitment among the interveners rather than confine them to purely technical roles.

— Basing themselves on the general feeling that, to adequately meet the needs of various social groups, the structures of services intended for them cannot be a matter of decrees, as it has been proved that in this case marginalization soon manifests itself as a direct result, the group *insists* on the necessity of handing over to those presently excluded and to those in the process of exclusion the right to make their needs known concerning as much the services they wish to see as the machinery to be set in motion for their dispensation.

— Stating that marginalization is often more apparent in urban society and that the emphasis placed on the existence of healthy relations between all groups of society would contribute to humanize it, the participants favor an integration of all the "excluded" into society, taking of course into consideration, where means are concerned, the implications of such a move.

— Many of the considerations of the participants were not expressed in such clear-cut recommendations but could be simply reported on.

  * The publicity the State gives to its services assures them of a constant supply of clients, but has the unfortunate consequence of promoting a certain relinquishing among the users of their own responsibilities.

  * The modern city has been created for profit, and this definitely ensures the exclusion of the child from many of its spaces: does not "to be in the street" indeed signify "to possess nothing"?

  * The new Québec law on the protection of youth if strictly applied diminishes the possibilities of establishing human relations with the user.

  * Finally, why and what from are the children to be protected? The commitment of all and everyone is necessary, and all state intervention can only constitute a partial answer to the problem.

Conclusion

It is now necessary to formulate a general conclusion to the whole of the participants' discussions on the second theme of the Congress. Placed in the context of numerous considerations, this conclusion can only be composed of a number of panels which themselves are a matter of choice.

A first panel opens on the restated need for the re-animation of the city by means of a take-over by individuals and small local groups, including children, of all operations leading to the wished for improvements to the environment. This seems essential not only in order to formulate the true needs of the people of the city, but also in order that at all levels of intervention concrete action be undertaken and carried out.

A second panel throws light on the nature of the needs of the child in the school and on the means to be set in motion in order for this space to come alive as well with the active collaboration of the children. Attention paid to individual differences, to the ability to be and to do, to the other spaces and other times inhabited by children or inhabiting them should allow the necessary reconstruction of this environment.

A last panel throws light on some dark points of social action in the city. Manifestly related to the preceding panels it also allows us to look upon a city vitalized through the total commitment of professionals of social aid and through renewed stimulation, for the benefit of all, of those members previously cast aside.

ECOSYSTEMS AND RHYTHMS OF URBAN LIFE

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THIRD GENERAL THEME

Ecosystems and rhythms of urban life and the management of time

Dr. Pierre Dansereau, Ecologist, Université du Québec à Montréal

The urban environment and the place occupied within it by the youngest generation of humans have been considered traditionally under the angle of psychology, sociology, and economics. One could now assign to ecology the task of reorganizing the data thus acquired and replacing them in their spatial elements. But it could also be that the dimensions thus rebuilt as a background would oblige us to new data-gathering, better selected to meet another problématique, and possibly also to be encompassed in a more global vision.

Without begging too many questions and challenging the better established disciplines, I shall try to draw the spatio-temporal framework of the city with the materials and concepts of an ecology which itself draws from numerous sources. This discipline may well aim at a new synthesis, but it nonetheless possesses an autonomy which is derived from its analytical methodology and from concepts which are unique to it, even if they do overlap those of biology and economics, that is to say the natural sciences and the human sciences.

It is by pursuing such a project that I will scan the living world (plants and animals, including the human species) to analyse the various mechanisms of cycles so as to envision the whole gamut of exploitation systems. An exploration of the variety of natural ecosystems will lead to human ecology and its structures and functions in the city, and thereby to rejoin that indispensable partner that is the child.

The anatomy and physiology of the city, in fact, reveal the opportunities for happiness and for hazard, for growth and participation that are offered to that vulnerable segment of the population.

Biological rhythms in the natural environment result from a very ancient adaptation of the hereditary potential to the resources and constraints of the different environments within which the organism has survived. At the far shore where we find them, the wild plants and animals show three characteristics which are responsible for their behaviour.

Requirement (R) is the specific need for a given resource in quality and quantity, in proportion with other resources and conditions, in order that one or more functions may be fulfilled. Thus, the need for water and heat of a plant at the beginning of its growth, at the time of flowering or reproduction, in the summer and in the winter, will vary considerably. Dormancy induced by cold is a positive prerequisite for the germination of many flowering plants. The need for vitamins that an animal organism is incapable of synthesizing requires the consumption of certain plants. The necessity to conserve heat in their body obliges human populations of cold countries to wear clothes.

Tolerance (T) is relative to a lack or a surplus of a resource or a condition, itself relative to other elements present, which an organism can withstand without grave danger. Thus, a lack of water, an excess of wind or heat, the low content of food in proteins, the excessive acidity of the soil during certain periods, will affect and perturb some functions, or even compromise the very survival without necessarily being fatal. Wind can modify the form and dimensions of many woody plants by shearing without seriously impairing growth and reproduction. The critical point of stress will therefore not have been overcome. Many birds tolerate the destruction or the predation of their eggs which they compensate by laying more. Some human populations have acquired a viable immunity against certain parasites.

The *capacity to exploit*, or efficiency (E), is not simply definable by the balance of requirements and tolerance: two organisms of the same behaviour under these aspects can be endowed differently for nutrition, transformation, investment, and may achieve greater or lesser importance in the ecosystem. The *efficiency* with which they exploit can be very different. Thus, beech and sugar maple have more or less the same ecological amplitude (RT), but the maple possesses a greater capacity of exploitation, a greater efficiency throughout their overlapping geographical areas. The herring gull and the black-backed gull prosper under identical climates but differ somewhat from the point of view of gregarity and consequently in the choice of their habitat. The Portuguese established in Brazil have made the soil yield much more than their Indian predecessors had done.

Ecological strategy, therefore, is determined by the degree of freedom with which the efficiency of an organism or of a population can function. The internal limitations due to heredity are generally less rigorous than those of environment.

Biological rhythms in the natural environment are therefore governed by the RTE formula of the organism. Its ecological strategy will lend itself to tactics that may vary and even change sign in the course of their *life-cycle*. Thus, the vulnerability to elements and enemies may be higher at the moment of germination, of hatching, of birth than it will be later on. On the other hand, the requirements (nutrients, space, reproduction) will be more urgent in mid-cycle at the time when productivity will be more abundant. Finally, the terminal phase, which is shown by the diminishing requirements and efficiency, ends in the failure of tolerance.

In the course of a single phase in the life-cycle, however, one will distinguish the *internal rhythms*. Thus, many plants and animals can not accomplish their vegetative and reproductive functions simultaneously. They must first feed, produce tissues, and then secrete sexual hormones. The problem of the sexual/vegetative antagonism is resolved in many different ways and often quite advantageously.

This *chronic conditioning*, both hormonal and metabolic, is not necessarily in gear with a given factor of environment, but it is very often so. It frequently is the decrease in hours of light, the increase of the provision of water or heat, or else their cumulative effects which trigger off the exercise of certain functions (germination, ovulation, migration).

It is at the level of the *ecosystem* (see definitions in the box) that one observes the synchronization of rhythm of each one of the participants (vegetal, animal, human).

At each trophic level it will be possible for different agents to utilize successively the same resources. On the floor of a forest, for instance, many spring plants will have lost their leaves whose decomposition will feed the summer plants. Boring animals will open tunnels that will be occupied later by insects. Each ecosystem is therefore characterized by two criteria: distribution of *trophic charges* and relative *autoregulation*. Thus, a *desert* will have a preponderance of minerotrophic processes; a *marsh*, of phytotrophic processes; a *bird-cliff*, of zootrophic ones; a *farm*, of investment processes; and a *city*, of processes of control. This uneven distribution of trophic loads is accompanied by circuits that are more or less closed where the cycling (at all levels) is accomplished without an exterior input and without much output either. Such autarky is rather rare, and most ecosystems are somewhat dependent upon other ecosystems from which they import energy, water, heat, nutrients (mineral, vegetal, animal), fabricated products, and information. More often than otherwise, an ecosystem does not merely reinvest but allows waste, losses, products, information to escape.

THE ECOSYSTEM AND ITS COMPONENTS
(Dansereau 1978)

Ecosystem: a limited space wherein the cycling of resources through one or more trophic levels is effected by more or less fixed and numerous agents, utilizing mutually compatible processes simultaneously and successively, which engender products, that are usable on short or long term.

The terms of this definition may be analyzed as follows:

Resources: the elements which are variously fed into the cycling process, whether they be mineral, biological, or functional (iron, wheat, cattle, lumber, information).

Agents: elements or organisms capable of powering the various processes by absorption, transformation, storage, channeling, or transport of resources (wind, plant, animal, man, bank, state).

Processes: mechanisms whereby the resources undergo all and any kind of change, metabolism, or transformation; anabolic, metabolic, or catabolic, they all imply an energy flow (pedogenesis, photosynthesis, absorption, predation, damming, electricity transmission, marketing, stock exchange speculation, legislation).

Products: objects or services resulting from the processing of resources by agents; they are consumed, stored, lost, or reinvested for further cycling (humus, starch, flesh, automobile, poem). (The product arising at a given level may thus become a resource at another level.)

Trophic levels: more or less determined stages which are stratified in time and space, wherein the cycling processes carry the resource from one state to another (e.g., from the mineral to the animal). Each level is characterized by associated and more or less exclusive processes which make up a *regime:* (I) minerotrophy (disaggregation, weathering, erosion, pedogenesis, . . .); (II) phytotrophy (photosynthesis, respiration, rooting, dispersion, . . .); zootrophy ([III] phytophagy or herbivory and [IV] predation or carnivory); (V) investment (damming, plowing, construction, urbanization); (VI) control or nootrophy (zoning, planning, financing, legislation).

In all ecosystems, one must try to evaluate the ratio between the active materials and the reserve materials, between the circuits that are "ON" and those that are "OFF," between the flux and the numerous stoppages.

Cycling, by definition, is rhythmic. Thus, from the tropical rainforest, through warm deserts, steppes, and temperate forests, all the way to polar tundras, the importance of oscillations varies a good deal. The incidences of deaths and new beginnings in the plants of warm deserts contrast strongly with the universally perennial character of tundra plants. There are, therefore, two types of *dormancy* that are quite different. The uninterrupted continuity which is never really slowed down in the processes of the tropical rainforest contrasts very strongly with the spring explosion of deciduous forests with their summer luxuriance, their autumnal decadence, and their winter rest.

The repertory of these rhythmic backgrounds is very important for those who would wish to take into consideration the *basic constraints* that underlie the bioclimatic milieu. In fact, it is in the primeval landscape that the harmonics are played out which man will gradually utilize and even amplify in his management of the environment or which, on the contrary, he will attempt to neutralize. The drought of Khartoum, the snow in Montreal, the fog in Los Angeles establish the broad lines of transport, housing, clothing and food, and induce seasonal accommodations of some magnitude.

Human ecology begins at the bioclimatic threshold, in the matrix of relief, weather, vegetation and spontaneous fauna. There are to be found the basic benefits and adversities. It is there that the requirements are satisfied, the tolerances are expressed, and eventually the efficiency developed as well.

The *escalation of human impact* on the various landscapes of the planet has reached new dimensions in the course of recent decades. The techniques of intervention, all the way from gathering to agriculture, have been enhanced by energy liberations brought forth in the industrial age, whereas even more formidable revolutions have succeeded industrialization, by breaking the boundaries of the biological molecule, of the physical atom, and of the human subconscious. The impact of this takeover is clearly legible in our landscapes. Complex mosaics henceforth replace the well-assembled tapestry of natural balances which were once assured of permanence by long-stabilized systems of exchange. The rural, industrial, and urban elements have been superimposed or substituted. They have of course brought in their own rhythms.

In order to appreciate the qualitative value and the quantitative weight of these transformations, and in order to evaluate the carrying capacity and the strength of resilience of the original matrix, on the other hand, one would have to review the numerous forms that land-occupation by man has cast. That can be done by applying a cartographic system *which reflects the exact occupation of spaces* (relative and absolute) which have been left in the wild state, which have been cultivated, industrialized, or urbanized. The resulting mosaic, after such an analysis, can be coloured by borrowing the criteria mentioned above and singularly those that refer to trophic levels.

But the most significant crucible is that of the *needs of man* which have dictated his intervention as a hunter, a farmer, a labourer, a city-dweller. Medicine and psychology offer us gamuts that allow us to draw a grill where these RTE's are graduated and placed opposite the resources that can satisfy them. An individual, a family, a community, a city will always have a rather uneven access to air, water, food, lodging, income, education, professional, political, and ethical expression.

The causes and consequences of the *inequality of sharing* (at all orders of magnitude: individual, community, nation) play a major role in the seasonal and the daily rhythm of life.

Urban ecology probably provides the epitome. In fact, the present cities of our planet offer us a great occasion to apply the most fundamental ecological concepts. One can measure and compare, for example, *diversity*, *health*, *efficiency*, and *amenity*. These four functions are eminently ecological and will influence one another according to the organization achieved and in step with a system of values. Their relative balance will result from spatial structure *(anatomy)*, character of the inhabitants *(demography)*, system of exchanges *(physiology)*, and time sequences *(rhythm)*.

In the first place, the *geophysical matrix* of landscape conditions urban design and offers advantages (varied relief, irrigation) and constraints (hardness of substratum, flooding) which tend to direct the pattern of growth. Together with climate, it limits the choice of construction materials and the pattern of transportation and circulation. *Biological dynamics*, on the other hand, never ceases to manifest itself in many ways. Thus, microbes, algae, fungi, and insects have adapted to buildings and to technologies, even the most advanced, such as air-conditioning circuits. So-called weeds are everywhere, as are also birds and several mammals. These living beings, which we must consider as resources, are variously combatted and exploited. Ornamental plants and lawns and many animal pets are favoured, and others are controlled by pesti-

cides. Depending upon the *nature of buildings* and the *style of management*, the urban mass will deal out very diversely lighting, heat budget, accesses, and habitability.

Living populations show, in a very visible way, what advantages they have taken of organized space. The wasting or luxuriance of plants, according to whether it affects cultivated or spontaneous species, are witnesses to order, prosperity, pride, or to their opposites. Animals also serve as indices according to their variety and abundance, and to the ecological niche that they occupy. A city that is too favourable to sparrows, and especially to pigeons, has already eliminated most of the song-birds. Not only rats, but cats and dogs can cause serious damages. But, it is man himself who controls urban space. Most cities show a zoning which is at once spontaneous and purposeful (although not necessarily planned). More often than otherwise, the smallest-sized lodgings are occupied by the largest families. On this side of the judgements of justice and charity which are inescapable, one can read in social stratification and spatial segregation a differentiation of the urban tissue which answers positive aspirations of the population. Thus the affinities which bring together like-minded groups (age, ethnicity, profession, recreation) will find a more or less complete and permanent expression.

The *physiology* of a city is a great spectacle which has preoccupied painters, poets, and novelists well before it became the concern of sociologists, anthropologists, and ecologists. The three movements of its *metabolism* imply a division of work and very divers time-sequences. First, there are the *anabolic* processes, that is the adduction or provisioning. An urban ecosystem must import its water, its construction materials, its food, and many resources from other ecosystems as it cannot produce them itself. This centripetal movement requires a strong network that channels not only mineral, vegetal, and animal raw materials but also fabricated works, information, and commands of different kinds. These imports, when they have been distributed, follow various energy circuits and transform themselves so as to insure heating, food, transport, commerce, education, banking, artistic creation. Such innumerable processes of metabolization involve, at various degrees, the whole of the population, assigning to the individual or to the group one or several operations, according to their capacity (or according to the opportunities offered to them). These transformations cannot well occur without entailing a *catabolic* phase, that is to say, some losses and wastes on the one hand and the eventual consumption or expulsion of a product out of the ecosystem.

Urban rhythm will therefore result from the management (spontaneous or planned) of the various circuits of metabolism. The greater or lesser satisfaction of the needs of man (at each level in the existing social scale) is geared to the network of this energy flow. The tempo of access to light, food, shelter, sexual activity, recreation, education, implies a certain coordination/compensation: waking and sleeping; ingestion and excretion; work and rest; sale and purchase; production and consumption; expenditure and storing. Thus there are many alternatives that maintain a minimum of equilibrium between use and renewal.

A close look at *calendars* and *agendas* in an urban ecosystem allows us to detect various patterns and complementary accesses to resources and processes or transformation. Just as the diurnal or nocturnal programmation of animals in the forest, the active and passive periods of each segment of the urban population witness at once their aptitudes and the part which they take in the collective cycling. We will be noting, for instance, the relatively passive obedience of the weak and poor population towards the natural elements such as sunlight, whereas more technically advanced communities will extend their activities at both ends of the natural light period. From siesta to coffee-break, from sickleave to the massive and simultaneous vacations of the construction workers, the circadian and hourly rhythms, the weekly and seasonal units, appear very diversely in their often questionable relations with efficiency, or indeed with happiness.

Spatio-temporal management in a natural ecosystem has been effected in the course of ages through successive adjustments dictated by the advantages, sometimes ephemeral, that different members of the community have found during various episodes. Thus, in a maple forest, one will see the moles and the ants in their subterranean galleries, the one active at night, the other in the daytime; the warbler and the owl in the branches, one coming out by day and the other by night; the squirrel and the chipmunk, diurnal animals both, one descending from its nest in the trees to bury its reserves of food in the soil, the other living under the soil and making quick visits to the forest floor. A more detailed study will reveal an extraordinarily efficient sharing of resources in the environment by this multispecific population, each member of which is narrowly programmed in its hereditary bearing, enjoying a relatively narrow margin of response to unforeseen or new conditions. In a natural ecosystem, therefore, one can expect that all the spaces (the *niches*) and all the times (the *periods*) will be occupied. What is generally referred to as the "harmony of nature" is precisely the functioning of the *spatio-temporal network* where the individual rhythm is integrated in the ecosystem as a whole.

Human settlements appear to take on a number of forms. If one must classify them, one will have recourse to two series of criteria: the first concerns the *population* itself (number, age distribution, ethnic

origin, traditional habits, skill, mobility, density, autonomy, diversity, power); the second concerns the *environmental matrix* itself wherein the population is inserted (the wild, rural, industrial, or urban landscape). It is in that matrix that the resources and constraints that have been mentioned above are to be found, therefore the always limited opportunities of promoting certain forms of activity, and attaining certain levels of productivity. One will witness very pronounced contrasts, for instance, between European and Asiatic human settlements where the very form and rhythm of the present exploitation of landscape are the result of a long possession accompanied by technical inventions and psycho-social structures which appeared essentially as a response to stimulations of the environment, and the American or Australasian "colonies" where these same inventions have been vehicled by habits that owe nothing to their place of implementation. French in Canada, Scots in New Zealand, Portuguese in Brazil, Spaniards in Mexico, have all been more or less "dephased" and more or less obstinate in the perpetuation of rhythms sometimes contrary to those of the environment. The discrepancy which necessarily follows calls for necessary and inevitable adjustments.

In the light of what precedes, we can interpret ecologically the calendars of various individuals (autecological study) and of settlements or communities of which they are a part (synecological study). Thus, in a city like Montréal, the circadian rhythm of each occupational group will be different: labourer, shop-keeper, student, public employee, professional, domestic, all have different alternances of waking, of working hours, of transportation, of eating, of recreation, and of sleep. Such expenditures of energy can all be concentrated in a single location (for instance, in the dwelling place), or be accomplished in as many different habitats. If one looks back to the image of the forest where the niches are all occupied, one will query what is the comparable efficiency of the modern city. Economic constraints (and not a need or a desire for harmony) have dictated the utilization of the machinery in factories twenty-four hours a day and seven days a week. This need for profitability has induced the formation of shifts of 8 or 12 hours of work. Likewise, the utilization on weekends and in the summer of school buildings and other public spaces. Such rationalizations have not always been accompanied by humanization and they continue to induce conflicts that are so costly that they end up cancelling the expected benefits. This is nowhere more evident than in the field of transportation where the disastrous simultaneity of occupations (for all the categories mentioned above) causes congestions that heavily affect the physical and mental health of people and by way of consequence the yield in their work, not to mention their happiness itself.

But, nothing seems more difficult to reform than the calendar, unless it is the displacement of administrative and political boundaries. In the one case as well as in the other, ecology and geography, or else historical evolution itself, seem to require a shuffle. But it is habit and tradition that prevail almost always. The boundaries of the states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania do not correspond to any real function in their landscapes any more. Excessive centralization in France tenaciously continues to counter the desire to favour regional autonomy. As for the schedule of work in transport, experience during the 1939-1945 war should have demonstrated for ever the advantages of a staggering of the hours of opening and closing of commerce, industry, and the professions. The relief of circuits and the full employment of equipment had then been greatly enhanced. One must note that all these resistances amount to an explicit opposition to *planning*. Planning is theoretically mandatory in socialist societies, that are however not free of waste, nor indeed immune to consumerism. Other authoritarian societies (singularly those of Latin America) practice a planning of a kind, but it seems to be biased to the advantage of the ruling classes. The democracies, finally, oscillate between their faith in free enterprise (supposedly the most efficient form of exploitation) and the need to contain an anarchic growth pattern and an unchartable future.

In order to *document a study* based on the preceding considerations, one must have recourse to socio-psychological and ecological methods where the demographic elements appear as *animators of the mosaic* in the landscape. In other words, such a correlation will owe its validity to the full use of such criteria as are proper to the sciences of man in the description and interpretation of populations, on the one hand, and to the full spread of the ecological and geographic arsenal in order to characterize in all its dimensions the environmental matrix where each *human settlement* is inserted. Such an effort at description is prior to all *prospective*.

It is time to turn back to the partner which is the *child*. In an ecological perspective, he is seen to encounter the same perils as other living agents in other ecosystems. Pre-natal hazards of drying-out of the seed in the plant, of perishing of the larvae, abduction of eggs, abortion of the foetus; the vulnerability and the needs particular to germination and to initial stages of growth; the competition and uncertainties of apprenticeship during adolescence, are all capable of causing irreversible inhibitions. The relative duration of the period of growth being much longer in the human species than in all other animals, and management of the environment being within the power of the collective will, it is useful to enquire in which societies the particular needs of childhood are privileged to the point of being the object of particular spatio-temporal managements,

precise and adequate. The sheltering of family solicitude is not everywhere equally traditional. Important as it may be, it is clear that it is not sufficient, and this is less so in an urban community. The copping-out of the family in favour of the school is more often than not disastrous. Nor is the experience of multiparental substitution in the commune very demonstrative as yet. One can identify, however, some structures and some rhythms, more or less well inserted in the existing urban cycling, that are positive contributions to the fulfillment of the young. Such are the manual-labour parks for children in Scandinavia, the "kindergartens" everywhere, the "ski-weekends" in Canada, radio-television programmes in which children participate actively, the "family-camping" of a growing number of social groups. These structures and habits (which necessarily introduce some modifications to the schedules and agendas of adults) are such as to promote initiatives among the young and an apprenticeship of a more experiential character than is traditionally allowed in the school system.

Such an outline of the *rhythmic problem in an ecological perspective* has sought its sources at the level of the plant and animal adapted to their natural environment. It has attempted to follow the thread of an organic continuity where man appears with more powerful aptitudes of control than those of other living beings, and yet lying in the line of their common evolution. Human communities are perceived as responsible for the earth, for plants, and for animals in their function of stewardship. A stronger acceptance of that responsibility must normally lead to methods of management of space and of time in better conformity with long-term objectives. The methodologies that are now being elaborated by environmentalists probably offer us a framework that sharply encompasses the forces of the environment, the needs of human beings, and the social values that finally dictate their priorities.

LECTURE 7

Ecosystems and rhythms of intra-family life and the management of time

Mr. Georges Rioux, President of the French Society for the Psychology of Sport and Physical Education; Professor, University of the Sorbonne

The technical world continues to expand among those Western populations that have become distinctly urban, in direct opposition to the natural primitive environment.

The irreversible magnitude of socio-economic transformations inevitably triggers important quantitative and qualitative changes in basic human relations.

The need to plan existence in the image of industrial production and economic distribution, the rhythm of large cities, often badly adapted to the psycho-sociological realities of living, produce numerous and frequent frustrations at different levels; these in turn, generate many expressions of badly controlled aggressive behaviour which, by a chain reaction, succeeds in perturbing even intra-family life in its smallest daily details.

The man, called by vital needs outside the home, is introduced into relatively complex structures; he senses their heavy pressure on the balance, now grown precarious, of his personality, without being able to free himself.

The primary social groups, centered on inter-subjective habits, which are dynamically open and affectively comforting, are more and more frequently replaced by secondary neutral cells characterized by their fundamentally impersonal and distant relations, until, in our specialized societies, each individual meets more and more people without being really in touch with any of them. Compulsory activity, too often performed as a daily routine filled with boredom, sometimes carried out under permanent constraint, can almost never generate that euphoric feeling of fulfillment and liberation which man naturally seeks in actions conceived and carried out on his own initiative and with fully assumed responsibility.

On the contrary, as a single unit among other units, an individual among other individuals, man experiences deeply the drama of collective isolation, of multiplied isolation, in which society is finally perceived by him, experienced by him against his will with bitter resentment. His need for an authentic relation is fundamentally frustrated; an intolerable feeling of insufficiency haunts him while he searches for true human communication which alone would allow him to exist socially. All ties become, however, almost impossible for the norms of modern industrial culture with its excessive rationalization urge everyone to see in the briefest of friendly, relaxed conversations a highly reprehensible lack of conscience, greatly detrimental to those capital values created today by clocked working time and the constant pursuit of progressively controlled competitive maximum output.

There still is however, in the unadulterated satisfaction of being together, a beautiful, specifically human manifestation of participation, favorable to a common dialogue and enriching to everyday life; in this the human being manifests himself affectively and fully, directly and spontaneously. As Albert Camus wrote: "The absurd is born from this confrontation between the human call and the senseless silence of the world."

The repeated instability of moves essential to the general life of the family, the forced instability of many alternating school and professional migrations, the inexorable regularity and ponctuality of work fashion a modern social reality far removed from the natural conditions of existence. It is this contradictory duality that Claude Lévi-Strass and his disciples have largely underlined.

Scientific techniques, which demand an objective impersonality, soon foster indifference toward many primordial human problems. The physicist changes "durée" into uniform, dehumanized time which, once surrendered to mathematics, is converted into algebraic variables, no doubt better suited to the analysis of the possible than to an examination of reality.

On the other hand everyone caught in time, forced to observe a timetable and an order of priorities, submits to time while his impulses would be to reject it. To the sense of time, or temporality, that time which organizes the means suited to the solution of life's problems, to that time, measured by the ticking of the clock and serving as an official frame of reference, another time is added, a personal experience of time, or lived time, the "durée" which Bergson describes as "substantial", a time much more thrilling than the pure time of the physicist.

Thus the family knows essentially two specific rhythms: the rhythm it shares with the whole of society and which is of interest to the family as an institution — objective time — and the time which affects persons in their mutual relations within the family group — subjective time.

Time conditions all perception and has constant hold, in the shape of fulfilled or broken rhythms, on the intricacies of life as a task or problem resolved. Man never stands apart from time; he submits to it or masters it in accordance with a design which guides it through the discontinuity of separate instants. To act is to accept time; to wait is to experience absence. To live is to strive for fulfilment or too hard an experience; immediacy is an intense present in which something is transformed.

Man can make use of his affective certitude to further his experience: he still possesses the family home, standing as always as a symbol of protection, sure haven of peace in the midst of turmoil, anticipated centre of warm welcome for those who still believe in it and in its virtues. Alain states: "The family group with its young and its old together, with that natural division of powers and duties, is a thing of beauty that nothing can replace. Here is the school for feeling, here devotion, confidence and admiration hold sway."

The Stoics, first theoreticians of the family, already presented it as the natural cell of society. It cannot, indeed, be separated from the social whole, as it represents a certain microcosm encompassing both responsibility and specific demands. Today the roles within the family are more and more relative, depending on competence, availability and circumstances. The idea of paternal authority has been replaced by that of parental authority.

Although the modern nuclear family has lost many of its powers, it nevertheless maintains the power of a structuring agent which shapes personality by the natural play of its manifold inter-actions. Each age has its own tempo, each age leads toward a certain perspective and opens a certain range of values and possibilities. As life is not lived at the same rate by all, it is within the child's, the adolescent's or the adult's life-style that each reveals the limits, respected by all, of his own freedom. The feeling of family well-being is less tied to specific facts than to an atmosphere, an impalpable emotional quality which surrounds and penetrates at the same time, thus creating a united way of living, deeply imbued by affectivity. The family atmosphere is that renewed miracle of mutual presence, of reciprocal influence through which each modifies the other by contributing to his edification.

The family climate, made up of lively feelings, is well suited to the child's early years, even to his first years of school, because this climate is in harmony with the urges, the impulses, with the whole immoderate affectivity of that age. Tears, no sooner shed, call forth comfort, fear easily finds immediate protective intervention. Everything is ruled by natural affection and the few little clouds of discord never succeed in affecting the intimate character of the relations.

Karl Jaspers tells us: "Human beings begin to love each other when they meet not only for a certain purpose, whatever its value, but beyond all purpose, in the very centre of being." Martin Buber looks for the origin of the "centre of being" in the pre-natal life, a state of "a pure natural bond" which later becomes a fundamental relational need. It is then that the child "lives from summit to summit" in the lightning and counter-lightning of encounters", then that he experiences the fundamental need to constantly mirror himself in the personality of others and to be loved in order to reach more easily his own self. In the harmonious family the dialogue between the "I" and the "You" results in a reciprocal immanence and in the attainment of a "We" which transcends both.

Once the early ages in which the institutional character of the family consecrates and reinforces the blossoming of natural feelings have passed, the family must accept to share with the schools. The family will however, always keep the function of serving as a centre of synthesis which will lend an affective colouring to all acquisitions coming from outside, and transform them little by little into deep feelings. The child must find himself daily and as long as possible in the midst of his family where he can mold his character: the child who feels loved has every chance of adapting easily to school life.

Socialization within the family produces unifying and liberating results reached through a development corresponding to each one's style. It is difficult today to find a constant point of balance common to people of different ages, with distinct responsibilities, only too often weary; there should, however, always exist a wholehearted striving toward it.

Solidarity characterizes two functions of unity: to accept and to maintain affective ties and to develop increasing individual autonomy. Privacy, the result of the spread of individualism since the 18th century, delineates for each a field of liberty which is expressed in personal choices attended by distressing doubts. This is the time when the commanding need for security and human warmth, the absolute need to be together and accepted in the isolation of the family rises again. The isolation of the family is reinforced

by the very sharp and shared feeling of being faced by difficult conditions created by the unlimited proliferation of the many-sided problems of today.

It is within a balanced family life that the child discovers, through experience, the power, the dignity, even the loftiness of successful affections. The family environment with its particular manners and customs, its proper rhythms, its simple learning systems, its gratifications and frustrations resting on a solid, common affective basis, shapes the most important segment of the child's personality.

The child carries within himself the possibilities of his own transformations. His natural potentials must, however, be properly encouraged at the maturing stage, at the time when he can most favorably receive outside influences, assimilate and transform them: humanization is constantly fulfilled by an appropriate biological and cultural interaction.

The family remains the truly privileged environment in which to learn to communicate easily. Relationship abolished negative feelings and withdrawal, interaction facilitates progress and dialogue turns into mutual stimulation. Thus, a balanced family directly encourages progressive evolution toward full self-confidence and properly assumed complete autonomy. However, for evolution to follow the proper course, the child must be perceived by his parents as an individual deserving respect, and not as a means of compensation. By testing one's partner each one tests himself through differentiation. "The others" constitute the most active part in each one's existential field, bringing each to discover in the family environment not only behavioral models, but a personal status and a testing ground.

Conflicts and initiatives are not the same for all, but there exists in the family a configuration of roles. The unity of the family lies in a global manner of acting and reacting, a manner always true to itself, stability being expressed precisely in that unbroken unity.

Family sense, distinct from family feelings, still rests on the latter. For the child it is made up of pride in his name, but mostly of the conviction that his family possesses a unique and irreplaceable affective cohesion.

Primary institutions, the first encountered by the child, prove to be fundamental, for they brand his evolving personality with a deep stamp at an extremely sensitive time. Pestalozzi could say: "A moral quality shaped by family ties is a source of wisdom and strength when forging other social ties."

The role of education is not to teach conduct or to direct; it is to learn to conduct oneself, to learn to direct oneself. A difficult role to fulfil! Certain reputable educators have therefore been wont to shield the child from his family and to restrict the family's influence. Plato, for example, in his Republic, claims that the State should assure the education of future citizens; Montaigne, although a stern critic of the colleges of his day, contends that the family does not possess the necessary energy to guarantee a proper education; J.-J. Rousseau believes that a tutor should be in sole charge of the fundamental task of educationing a single child; Durkheim alleges that family education proves to be incapable of "forming a child for a moral life"; and finally Alain says that "the family teaches badly and even brings up the child badly. Blood relationship fosters in the family irreplaceable but poorly regulated affections . . . Each one need be what he should be, and harmony must arise from differences."

The very difficult task of a good family education is, in fact, not an end in itself; it collaborates in an undertaking which goes beyong it. The family, like the school, is made for the child, in other words for the man the child will normally become.

Education is in fact an itinerary one must follow; to bring up a child is, foremost, to help him achieve, under excellent conditions, the first stage of the journey which, no doubt, is the most important one of all.

Childhood proves to be first of all growth and thrust, transition and evolution: what chiidhood fulfils as it advances are the personal signs of hidden potentials which must be discovered and activated in an atmosphere of tender care and fair severity appropriate to each age.

The family's educational experience is fulfilled in a global perspective which is based on four essential elements, elements of contributive, affective, sociological and cultural values, whose interdependent importance and significance vary according to the individual whom they define. Parents benefit from a naturally privileged position of influence thanks to the continuity of their ways, to the example they set, and to the feelings they inspire.

At the same time they are also bearers of their own contradictions, and endure those imposed on them by an order of civilization which at times is in accordance with the natural order, but more often in opposition to it. When parents have been unable to achieve self-effacement in the course of their educational commit-

ment, the child is frustrated; he feels it, he knows it, he blames them now by evident opositional behaviour; later he will blame them in definite terms, but too late.

The child who is understood by his parents is never sad. According to Montesquieu "sadness arises from the loneliness of the heart". The very young child who lives surrounded by balanced affection can trust himself to the gentle imaginings he created for himself, in which as the poet says, the least "shiny button he picks up, concentrates for him all the glory of a sunrise." The happy child creates his own enchanted world: this is his gift.

Only the individual who can always remain true to himself is really free, only he can develop according to the laws of his particular development. It is often the parents who have the greatest difficulty in gradually detaching themselves from their child who find it most difficult to grant him progressively his true freedom.

An activity exercised under constraint and in boredom cannot provide a feeling of fulfilment, proof of freedom on a human scale. Too much constraint is sensed as an aggression; too little is felt as desertion: a just measure is most precarious.

As long as the child looks upon his parents with the eyes of love, they are in some way transfigured, elevated; but when the parents weary and even overtired by modern life turn particularly tense and unfair, the spell is broken, the impulse lost, the dream shattered, and the child does not see any longer what was visible only to the eyes of love. The play is over, mere persons replace the heroes, the mask becomes part of the accessories, and the parents' role turns into the imitation of an imitation.

Parents then feel remorseful; they wish the mistake had not been committed; they suffer not to be able to annul it retrospectively; they feel closed in and have lost their horizon. Remorse is a kind of consuming anguish, a kind of arrested time. "Remorse, says Alain, is regret for a mistake, but without hope: it is the condemnation of self by self in desperate culpability."

Sometimes parents confine themselves to repentance, which is remorse resumed, made affective and which transcends time; pedagogically it is healthier and generates progress. It is, however, better to always control oneself, to check oneself in time and not to commit the mistake.

It is in successful action that one finds quite naturally that feeling of freedom which leads to felicity; this kind of action requires strength of character and coherence at the individual and at the family level. But urban civilization is becoming more and more anonymous. When a child goes to school, when the father and the mother work outside, and sometimes very far from home, the nuclear family can no more act as the human refuge it represents. It suspends its existence for a whole day to resume it only in the evening in common weariness and general tension.

Meanwhile the mother, outside the home, lives in the worry for a perpetual elsewhere which prolongs the hours and awakens uncertainty. The child, back from school, keeps watch a long time in front of the obstacle of the closed door for the delayed return of the mother, each passing moment prolonging her absence.

If the child is still an infant, entrusted to the care of a stranger, he violently longs for the return of the mother and wants to be satisfied immediately. His worried attention strains at each noise, his body is restless, stretched toward the absence, while images, both pleasant and disturbing succeed each other at an increasing speed. Presently, in the joy of reunion, he will at last live the present as a new promise for the future.

To possess the self in order to give it is an enriching gift, an achievement. A mother's love for her child is the highest proof of herself. A tired mother cannot answer to all a child feels he needs. It is, however, in the presence of the other that the child becomes what he is. Only through the knowledge of the adult who participates in the training of the child can one get to better know the psychology of each child.

Primary love binds the very young child to his mother in total interdependence. At this developmental stage the mother represents everything: air, light, well-being are experienced only as extensions of the mother. This stage reveals a feeling of confidence derived from the love the child finds in his mother, who herself is accepted in her maternal role by society. Feeling loved and accepted in the very way he manifests himself to others, the child will love himself and be reassured. This feeling of confidence in self supports and develops the sense of identity which will play such an important role in the progressive shaping of the personality of the child. A solid later balance at an adult level will result from a positive identification with the father for the boy, and, for the girl, from a positive identification with the mother.

The child grants to everything a value which is the reflection of a value received. The claim is often made that "he gets used" to separation, when in fact he dissembles. The phenomenon of adjustment

sometimes conceals irreparable damage. The mother's emotions find direct repercussions in the child's psyche which it perturbs. All speech is an action for two: the child too frequently abandoned manifests language difficulties; it is as if the affective tie plays the part of an intellectual organizer.

Affective growth never ceases and is tested again and again. Everything that encourages the coherence of the family, the easy and extended regrouping, the affection and the mutual respect, strengthen the tie which must fulfil three essential conditions for the harmonious development of the child: intimacy, steadfastness, reciprocal satisfaction. All well-understood family education must awaken in the child the consciousness of his basic urge, the urge, as Hegel says, to be "recognized".

The child can read tenderness, indulgence, severity in his mother's face. "It is the heart that knows, not reason", says Pascal. This is why the mother is most frequently the recipient of childish secrets. The secret, told in confidence, reveals total trust, and the complicity of silence discloses unmistakably the mutual intimacy. How often do we see the child cover his mouth with both hands to silence what he would so much like to express!

The child who knows himself loved confesses his offence easily. He wants to be recognized for what he is, an element of the family group. At fault, he feels clearly that his parents' acknowledgement of his offence is a condition of his identity. The punishment inflicted with understanding will only be a deserved proof of this acknowledgement. Not confessed, the offence becomes, under these conditions, a pain. As Kierkegaard says: "The offence has on the eye the same power of fascination held by the gaze of the snake". And one remembers Cain . . . The feeling of guilt and the subsequent admission are a call from one being to the other; they lead to a renewed personal bond.

The whole progress of the child will depend on the intensity of the acts of generosity and love he experiences which will call forth the performance of the most difficult tasks. To compensate for his feeling of frailty, the child must feel confidence in the strength of those on whom he depends. He needs a model he can emulate. "We can do nothing that does not imitate someone, remarks Alain, and the wish to resemble is already a resemblance . . . In front of the Apollo of the Belvedere we straighten our shoulders!"

To take parents as models is quite naturally to exist with them, to feel through them the call of inner strivings full of hope. The parents part is never to deceive! But how, always driven by relentless timetables and by the general conditions of modern life, can they succeed? Still, harmonious family love is the force that can break down the walls of loneliness.

Family life must not become a closed-in time. The joys of outdoor activities, the joys of motion and of freedom always lead to do better and to feel better. These joys, stronger than pleasure, but, no doubt, weaker than happiness, force each one not only to express his feelings, but to express them to others, full of the eagerness of sharing. For this the necessary space must be available, the compulsory professional and school activities must permit displacements which do not take up the time of relaxation in distasteful, long journeys!

At the most elementary level, self-assertion is the will to live. For a long time the child lives with a feeling of great weakness mixed with the awakening strength called forth by motion. He seeks to acquire mastery over his body by untiringly repeated grasping and postural balancing exercises, by games of skill and flexibility, by creating patterns of motion which serve a particularly lively affective consciousness. This consciousness shows life as a totality, as indivisible: the child concentrates on what he feels germinating in him.

The body then gather all its powers, without distinction between movement and being, in direct and instantaneous expression of intentionality. The unification of the senses is achieved by motion taken as a project, as a virtuality. Through the body sensorial aspects become concrete elements in a global configuration in a unique space.

Physical education takes on a capital importance, because the body, as immediate knowledge of self, is also the direct experience of all knowledge. The child experiences objects through the power which allows him to use them. To make a gesture is to propose a possible reality, and it is at this level that the learning techniques which liberate the individual are to be found.

The healthy child is happy only when he acts freely. J.-J. Rousseau, speaking of Émile, tells us: "Let him act, run, shout! Let him always be on the move, let him be man through strength, and soon he will be man through reason . . . As he grows in strength and vigor, he grows in sense and judgement . . . The weaker the body, the stronger its domination, the stronger the body, the better it obeys."

No one knows himself until he has acted. To transcend the self in striving for life is in fact to assume the self. To act is also to love what will be, to love that which is not yet. Thus, the child learns every day to assume what is difficult.

The child, usually nervous in the jostling of big cities, sees his desires, magnified by strong emotionalism, urge him to undertake a great deal, but also to give up easily because of the resistance the city's structure presents. Phases of excitement alternate with periods of depression. At such times excessive emotionalism must be lessened, physical capabilities reinforced, and impulsiveness curbed. Outdoor games will bring a solution, but they must take place in the presence of one or both parents. In order to be able to turn from impulsiveness to disciplined action, apprehension caused by uncertainty must be allayed. The presence of a loved one at his side during the early stages of training allows the child to fulfil the commitment under problem-free conditions, in accordance with his real capabilities. It is thus that a dynamism, both constructive and safe, leads the nervous youngster to a well-adjusted effort, avoiding failure which always reactivates conflictual states.

This was well understood by the research team of Louvain which, during the last International Congress of Sports Psychology and Physical Education held in Prague in 1977, demonstrated the possibility of aquatic education for infants under the age of one, with under-water periods, but in the presence of the mother, herself in the pool and participating in the training.

To succeed one must understand the child; to understand the child one must be aware of his "otherness", must interpret with new eyes and observe the surfacing of expressive data to find again this data's inner source, without forgetting Pascal's advice that "after expressing a truth, one must add that the opposite truth is also remembered". The alternation of truths then becomes proof of self-possession. But to achieve this one must not be wearied by one's job, or pushed by time!

Modern man generally lives by maladjusted rhythms. But, as Rainer-Maria Rilke remarks: "Each experience has its proper tempo in which it must be lived if one wants it to be fresh, profound and fertile, and it requires wisdom to find this tempo in each particular case."

The tempo of a sonata cannot be accelerated without destroying its primary significance. The same can be said of man: haste destroys him. Most physiological functions follow a cyclic rhythm which must be respected to preserve the vital balance: level of alertness, cardio-vascular activity, etc. Man, subjected to constant constraints in time, or enslaved by activities which permanently disturb vital cycles, is normally exposed to increased fatigue, to over-tiredness which inevitably leads to errors and accidents. Claude Piganiol wrote quite recently: "No study exists which would allow to reduce each nuisance by a coefficent of deliberation. The effect felt by the workers is global, and it would be arbitrary to try to distinguish physical fatigue from nervous fatigue . . . The analytical graphs for the improvement of working conditions concern only its measurable and quantitative aspects; when using them the essential, the affective effect, is left out."

The conflict in family rhythms is easy to discern. In working class families, if one discounts the hours of work, the rest of the day is taken up by the time needed from transportation, by the meal taken at work. The length of time spent in common with the family remains very curtailed. The problem of interpersonal communication becomes difficult. Returning harassed from work, no one can immediately and properly satisfy the needs of starting a conversation, of being told about the outside world of those who, by necessity, lead a sedentary life.

Balance consists in switching from one kind of tension to another. As duties and tasks multiply and become more complex, the capacity for changing rhythms becomes indispensable: one must be able to switch easily from affective fusion to functional differences and back again. One of the important problems of modern life can be summarized as the problem of harmonious alternation between work and relaxation, between reason and the heart, between technique and art. Man must resort constantly to references to objective time, to clock time, and to subjective time, "durée". This double reference is the same in order of outside perception, in which we relate an object to our own point of view and also compare it to an objective order by keeping our own point of view in check. We invent time and are ruled by it; we also control vital change and at the same time submit to it.

A job is badly done when it is accomplished either too hastily or too slowly. In both cases the proper rhythm has not been respected or discovered. Psychological maturity consists precisely in finding the rhythms appropriate to actions and to emotions. Vital harmony does not depend on a mathematical formula quite superfluous to express the relation of an individual to his environment.

Affective tonalities are the great themes on which feelings play their variations. A common affective substance permeates both man and the world. As Heidegger says, affective tonality "rises like a mode of the being into his very world". This unity is underlined by Binswanger who calls it "harmonious space". Side by side with theoretical, homogeneous space and vital space, the space of actions, there exists the "Harmonious space" permeated by an affective coloring which spreads uniformly through all its contents, men and things, and which seems to resist direct action.

In an overtired individual, an unpleasant impression made by some event persists unreasonably long; for him waiting is poisoned by uncertainty. In some other cases, nothing lasts. An accelerated vital tempo is a protection against an always threatening anxiety. Generally the underlying fear of a psychological conflict makes it difficult to discover a rhythm appropriate to the action.

Man, overtired and incapable of relaxing, finds himself in constant tension which prevents the night to refresh and the day to be active; tension becomes absolute. The well-balanced man, on the contrary, switches easily from tension to relaxation.

Applied techniques substitute set roles for personal expression, the administration of things for education. Men ends by living as a stranger in a society created by others. He exercises his habit of doubting by contesting, but he remains medialized in that he negates, he falls into the dogmatism of negation which is proof of weakness.

"Each man lives to give sense and value to his existence", says Pirandello. Man must not be submitted to abstract laws. His behaviour must be considered in terms of motivations, of needs, of finality. One must attempt to penetrate the very core of action in order to understand what makes it unique. Rediscovered subjectivity must be a personal adventure, but shared by all.

Of course, as Jean Rostand says: "To live is to play hide-and-seek with one's anguish"; of course, as Stendhal claims, "we must shake life or be slowly eaten by it"; neither must we forget that *the child stays with the man all through life*.

We must find a just and deeply human solution to the problems facing us: to ease the life of the family and promote the happy blossoming of the child with his parents.

To shorten distances, to reduce the size of the place of work, to balance the rhythms of life during the day, the week, the year, to make known the job market, etc. — those are a few of the questions we will have to elucidate together.

It is never possible to do all that is valid. Plato learned it in Syracuse: "The law will never be capable of grasping with precision what is best and most just."

Our initiative must, however, be able to invent new possibilities based on rigorous and firm reflection about what is worth doing, and to reach a precise and clear knowledge of what can possibly be done.

Let us then thank the organizers of these meetings for having generously given us this opportunity within the framework of the Year of the Child.

LECTURE 8

Ecosystems and rhythms of extra-family life and management of time

Professor Joachim Israël, Sociologist, University of Lund

Introduction

A few year ago one of my Norwegian friends, a psychologist, conducted a series of experiments concerning sensory deprivation. In these experiments the subjects are prevented from obtaining sensory stimuli, neither visual, auditive, tactile or kinesthetic (W. Heron, 1966). As a result of this deprivation, subjects within a short period of time start having hallucinations.

My friend succeeded in obtaining a few subjects, living in isolated regions of the Norwegian mountains, and usually spending their working time alone in agricultural work, hunting, fishing and doing lumber work. When these persons were exposed to the experimental conditions, they could endure them for hours without showing the usual signs of stress and of having hallucinations.[1]

The experiment was scheduled to last for three hours. Persons who came from urban environments and had hallucinations, experienced the time as extremely long, as never ending.

The subjects from the mountains were surprised when the experimenter announced the experiment to be finished. They had difficulties to believe that they had spent three hours secluded.

Thus the experience of time and of duration of time is highly correlated with sensory stimulation and the adequate level of sensory input.

One explanation of these surprising results is that the adequate level of sensory stimulation is modified by the environment in which we live. If a person is accustomed to an environment with a relatively high amount of quietness and to sensory impressions, mostly mediated by natural sounds, as the songs of birds, the level of sensory input necessary to avoid psychological symptoms of stress may be rather low. If subjects however, are accustomed to a high level of sensory input as provided in urban areas, e.g. through continuous visual stimulation by means of neon-advertisement signs, through rock- and beat music, through having radios, transistors and television sets operating practically uninterrupted during the day, etc., rather limited periods of quietness will have disturbing effects. In this connection it may be pointed out that the Eastern ways of meditation are means of shutting out sensory input, in order to quieten down and to be able to "empty one's mind". Since mediation usually is accompanied with relaxation, we may assume that a high level of sensory stimulation, going on uninterrupted or during long periods of a day, may lead to hypertensions. In fact subjects living in urban areas and accustomed to a high level of sensory stimulation experience usually already after a short period of time feelings of restlessness, boredom and uneasiness when the level of external stimulation decreases. For them time seems not to move.

People coming from an environment with a lower level of sensory intake, feel, when, e.g. coming to large cities, uneasiness which may develop into anxiety when exposed to too much stimulation.

We seem all of us to be located along a scale ranging from low to high stimulation needs. In any case the conclusion is warranted, that the level of sensory stimulation needed to preserve psychological functioning is not only determined by biological factors of our nervous system. It is also determined by the social and physical environment, in which we live. Being accustomed to a rather high intake of sensory stimulation may, in addition to hypertension, create demands for continuous stimulation, for an impossibility to be alone, to listen to one's inner voice and needs, and create an anxiety of quietness. Furthermore such a need for stimulation may become circular, since it may lead to demands for satisfying the given needs, which in turn would increase the level of input necessary.

1. Personal communication from C.M. Borgen, University of Oslo (Department of Psychology).

Some theoretical considerations[2]

Which conclusion do I want to draw from this example? One of them, being quite popular, I like to reject right from the beginning. It implies the introduction of a contradiction between nature and society. It assumes a "natural" state which man has left, followed by negative consequences and urging man "back to nature". I believe that these ideas are developed due to an inadequate semantic analysis of the term "nature". Man is a *natural* being in the sense that there exists a human nature which is partly biological, partly social, e.g. the possession and use of language.

There exists a long, and from the point of view of the development of science an unfortunate dualism, in which man is opposed to nature, nature to society, body to mind, language to reality — just to mention a few examples. This dualism has been unfortunate because it caused us to formulate scientific problems in an erroneous way, as the above mentioned "explanation" indicates.[3]

Our metatheoretical point of view, being basic to what we are going to say, will be presented in a few short theses:

1. Man and his environment form a whole. Part of man's environment is man-made, part of it is not. But that part of man's environment which is not affected by his actions, is humanized in the sense that we have knowledge about it, are able to speak about it and to formulate theories about it. If there is a part of the total environment, about which we do not have knowledge, which is necessary to assume, we must underline that this very idea namely that a part of the human environment is not known to man, *is in itself a human idea*.

2. The totality or whole of which we talk and of which man is a part, is a continuously *developing totality*. It is a totality characterized by processes of change and transformation and therefore having a history. In our theoretical framework change and transformation is basic. Structure and order is secondary and conceived of as temporary states in ongoing processes.

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2. One may justly ask why I try to pinpoint the following theoretical considerations and which relevance they have for my lecture. Reading about ecology, ecosystems and ecological psychology (e.g. H. Walter, 1975) all terms which now seem to have acquired a certain fancy, I was struck by the diversity and the ambiguity in which these terms are used. In addition one finds often implicit assumptions contributing to the lack of precision in language. For that reason I want to present my own theoretical position (it is outlined in greater detail in J. Israël, 1979).

   I like to furnish some examples to corroborate my assertions. In one standard text (F. Stearns & T. Montag, 1974) "ecosystem" is defined to "describe a particular level of organization in the organic/natural world. *Complete* ecosystems contain a sufficiently diverse set of living and non-living components to be entirely self-sustaining" (Op. cit. p 25). What do the words "organic/natural" refer to? Are they synonymous? Are they used to describe an opposition to the "social"? Are there complete ecosystems at all and if yes, is there more than *one complete such system*? Exist today self-sustaining ecosystems, in which human beings live — except perhaps small islands in the Pacific without contact with the world around? Are not all systems in which human beings live open systems and therefore by definition not self-sustaining?

   With regard to the use of the term "ecology" in connection with developmental psychology — and I exclude its use in sociology — Thomae (1974) founds at least five different approaches characterized by the same term (p 2 ff).

   I ecology as the study of behavior of children and adolescent in their "natural" environment. This approach originates with Kurt Lewin and his concept of "life space" (1951). Studies by R. Barker (1968) are typical for this approach, recently rediscovered by U. Bronfenbrenner (1979).

   II ecology as the study of environmental influences on human behavior, where environment refers to the geographical and physical environment.

   III ecology as a system approach "which tries to trace communications between and within systems and to analyze path ways, sources, and integrative functions of messages" (Thomae op. cit. p 2).

   IV ecology as the study of therapeutic environments for the curing of psychological disorders.

   V "ecology as the study of environment in *all* its aspects and its impact on the behavior of individual and groups" (Thomae, op. cit. ibid.).

   Just comparing definition 4 and 5, the first referring to rather restricted conditions, the second to all conditions (an impossible task) indicates how diversified the term is used. I agree with Thomae, when he says, that "one may wonder if this word has any definite meaning outside of biology" (op. cit. p 3).

3. Monism, e.g. as in the form of a "materialist" reductionism does not solve the shortcomings of a dualistic standpoint. A third position — a holistic one — which transcends both dualism and monism is necessary (see J. Israël, 1979).

3. Man does not and cannot have total knowledge of this totality or any of its elementary parts. But the limited knowledge he possesses can and ought to be placed within the frame of the totality, to indicate interdependence and manysided determining conditions. This means also abolishing one-way causal reasoning in favor of feedback and similar types of circular explanations.

4. 'Nature and society are not mutually exclusive. Man is a part of nature and he has contributed to its configuration. Society is a general phenomenon common to all species. Man is biological because he is social and social because he is biological, a specific product of neither nature nor society' (S. Moscovici, 1976 p. VII).

   When we talk about "nature" and about "society" we talk about different aspects of a totality. We use in our common-sense language different words, because they refer to different aspects of one whole.

   The same holds for man. We can talk about him in terms of the language of physics (e.g. about his weight, length, etc.), in terms of the language of psychology (we talk about feelings, perceptions, language). In the language of biology (we talk about human brain processes, about metabolism, etc.). We talk about man in the language of sociology (as an inhabitant of a city, as belonging to a certain social class) and in the language of economics (man as a producer or consumer). We are looking at man from different and various angles. But all these different and various aspects presuppose the common notion of man.

   The same holds when we talk about man as a biological being and as a social being. Man isolated, and in this sense autonomous, does not exist. Man as a private and autonomous being only exists in and through society.

   When we speak about man's biological and social nature we usually refer to limits or constraints, set up by his physical and social environment. Man's possibilities of actions are limited by his inherited biological structure and by social norms and rules.

5. The notion that man is exposed to his physical and social surroundings and that he is a product of his surroundings is a false notion. Man is the producer of his own world and at the same time a product of his own creations. Man produces his own world cognitively as well as materially and becomes a product of what he has produced as well as of that which exists independently of his activities. From the point of view of developmental psychology, Piaget in his genetic epistemology has systematically developed the idea that man through the process of accommodation and assimilation affects his world and is affected by this world (Piaget, 1972).

6. The social world is a human world. But man is born already into a world existing prior to him, though also this world is man-made. The basic human activity on a generic level is praxis, i.e. the production and transformation of the world. This generic activity of praxis gives rise to social structures and orders, forming the frame for praxis as a process. At the same time praxis is the process by which existing structures and orders are transcended. Work, language and morals are the basic media of praxis.

7. Corresponding to praxis, being a generic concept, is action. This refers to human activity on the individual level. Action is intentional, purposive and goaldirected. The concept of "action" is used here deliberately to avoid the concept of "behavior" (as e.g. used in behavioristic psychology). Interaction through communication is one of the basic human activities.

8. By distinguishing between "praxis" and "action" we distinguish two levels of analysis both necessary for social psychological explanations. "Praxis" refers to the societal level in which processes occur in the sphere of economical and political decision-making. Typical processes on this level are concerned with the production of commodities. Society can be conceived of as the totality of these relations.

   On a microlevel action refers to individual actions and interactions. Thus we reserve the term "social" for this level when we talk about "social relations".

   The two levels are related to each other. Thus individual action and interaction is influenced by societal relations and reversed. The influence, however, is not direct, but mediated by production processes.[4]

4. In our department at the University of Lund we have for three consecutive semesters conducted a research seminar, in which a model of a Marxist social psychology has been developed. It does not integrate Marxism and Psychoanalysis. This model, which is soon to be published, is based upon the distinction between societal and social relations. As mediating processes we postulate 1. the process of material production, 2. the process of production of knowledge and ideology, 3. the process of production of the personality, i.e. socialisation. These three processes in turn are interrelated.

Finally both macro- and microlevel are related to the total environment. In this way we can talk about ecosystems.

9. The non-social environment and the world of objects — either produced by man or to be found in his environment — can affect man only through the meaning they acquire. Hence it does not make sense to speak about man being influenced by the non-manmade environment, if this implies that this influence can be analyzed without taking into account the psychological significance attributed to the environment by man.

10. We cannot talk about man and his environment about the way he forms and transforms it and is affected by it, without taking into account values. What we consider as good or bad, as promoting human life or being detrimental to it, is in the last analysis based upon values. Therefore if we analyze the process of socialisation we cannot avoid taking into account goals and means. Therefore we should make explicit the values which guide our choices. A social science which declares itself value-free is contradicting itself. The very idea of a value-free science implies a specific valuation.

On time-management

We will start with the extremely elementary, but nevertheless disregarded idea, "that time involves at least two interacting event sequences, for example the handling of the stop-watch by the observer and the succession of the events observed" (K. Riegel, 1977 p. 3).

Now if we concentrate on a succession of events we concentrate on *change* and *transformation*. Traditionally in the social sciences the emphasis is on structure and order. Change is then viewed as a property or characteristics of structure. However, an alternative approach seems for several reasons to be more promising (see J. Israël, 1979). It implies that change, development and transformation is taken as basic and order or structure as temporarily limited configurations or forms of change. A concrete example may illustrate this point. Assume we are sitting in an airplane several thousand feet above the earth, observing a river. We can only observe its structure. No movement of water is visible. Structure therefore appears to be timeless, ahistorical. The lack of a historical perspective in the social sciences as well as in the life of the individual gives rise to the idea of the "natural" in the sense of the "unchangeable" and influences time perception and management. When we go down to the river and place ourselves in its midst, we observe movement, i.e. change, whereas the structure — beaches — retreats into the background. What I propose is to apply the river perspective and not the airplane perspective when analyzing time management.

Technical and social changes occur now so fast within the life-time of an individual that it seems warranted to look at change and transformation as basic and at structure and order as something secondary.[5] The analysis of time then becomes an important issue, often neglected in the social sciences or treated as a dimension in which variables of other dimensions can be transferred for the purpose of measurement.

But time can and ought to be analyzed as a basic dimension. If we do that, we can differentiate according to Riegel (1977) between four different time dimensions: biological, individual-psychological, sociological and physical. Furthermore these dimensions can interact. As example we can show that "raising the internal body temperature increases the speed of reaction such that the chemical clock runs faster than a laboratory clock; about 2 minutes of performance equals 1 minute of clock time" (Riegel, op. cit. p 13). Lowering the body temperature gives the opposite results. Changes in body temperature affect the metabolism. Thus if temperature is lowered, the metabolism slows down and time should be perceived as passing more quickly. (Perhaps we can seek in this context an explanation of the experimental results mentioned in the beginning).

An interaction between biological, individual-psychological and sociological time-dimension of importance for our argumentation is the following. In all Western industrialized societies the biological process of sexual maturing has sped up such that youngsters now become sexually mature up to two years earlier than 50-75 years ago. This is due to increased material standards of living as, e.g. improved hygienic and dietic conditions. At the same time the length of school training has been increased, delaying the beginning of occupational and professional life, as well as the founding of a family. Before this development children were classified as children as long as they went to school and were considered to be grown up when they

5 Let me just as a curiosity remind you of the fact that the first time a satellite was placed into space was 22 years ago. Today it is a matter of routine. According to newspaper reports about 11 000 satellites have been placed into space. My seven year old son has never experienced a world where man was not able to reach the moon. My grand grandfather had as major means of transportation a horse-wagon.

started working. Working-class youngsters usually would start working at the age of 14-16, whereas middle and upper class youngsters, going to oollege and university, would remain dependent on their parents during the time-span of their education. But the mentioned biological changes, combined with the societal changes in length of education has brought about the creation of a new age-group between childhood and adulthood: youth. This youth group has developed its own social norms and standards, its own life style (or several styles), its specific behavior patterns, special interests and goals.

The development of youth cultures has been made possible by mass production of goods, specially designed for youth or mostly consumed by this age group: cloth and related paraphernalia, cosmetics, records, magazines, record players, transistors, bicycles, etc. It has lead to the creation of special leisure time activities which in turn presuppose certain facilities like discothecs. The youth age-groups has in our society become one of the most important consumer group with a high buying-power. This has been recognized by those who produce for this special group, which in this respect is economically exploited in the commercialized social environment, which large cities offer today.

The youngsters themselves often have a perception of belonging to a well defined and temporary delimited age-group. This has lead to changes in behavior, e.g. in sexual behavior. A Swedish study conducted twelve years ago in Stockholm thus indicated that most youngsters had made their first sexual experiences long before they became 20 years of age (the median age of first intercourse for boys was about 17 and for girls about 18. See Israël et al. 1971 and Israël and Eliasson 1972).

The changes in sexual behavior have been facilitated by the decrease of informal social control in favor of formal social control in large urban areas. thus at the country-side informal social control through the primary group and the neighbours was more predominant, whereas the anonymity of urban areas makes this type of control impossible. The formal control which has been strengthened through increased police activity supported by modern technical conditions, is not and cannot be concerned with sexual behavior. Furthermore the availability of cars facilitates the possibilities for avoiding informal control.

To conclude: the example shows an interaction of biological, psychological and sociological-cultural time dimensions in a process of change and transformation, made possible and being facilitated as well as influenced by the conditions provided in industrialized urban areas.

Conditions of living in urban areas

The main difference between living at the countryside and in an urban area is the change in family relations, both within the family and with regard to its surroundings. Small nuclear families existed already in the agrarian society. Industrialisation and urbanisation brought as a consequence an increased isolation of the nuclear family. Its relation to relatives and neighbours became less binding and free from obligations. "The social network started to be broken down when the family lost its importance as center for productive work and was placed beside the production process. An adult surrounding of control and belongingness disappeared for the children" (R. Liljeström, 1976 p 100).

The urban society is characterized by more and more functions being moved out from the family. This gives rise to a differentiation and a split up of different live areas: family, work, education, taking care of children, leisure, societal activities like political work, etc. — all become separated. Sociologically we talk about different societal sectors as, e.g. the economic, political, cultural sector. We talk about a sector for education, one for taking care of the sick and old, a leisure time sector, etc. This societal differentiation often corresponds to an ecological differentiation within large cities with various residential areas, areas for industrial production, cities and down-town areas, etc.

This differentiation has deep-going psychological consequences, last but not least for the perception of available time and of our possibilities of time-management. During one day, e.g. people have to take different roles, move around in different localities, relate themselves to different organisational structures, etc. Seen over a longer period the experience of continuity has been replaced or at least supplemented by the need to produce and to break up relations to other people, things, geographic areas, to organisations and locations.

In the preindustrialized and pre-urbanized society, people were expected to find personal security in the experience of continuity regarding different life activities: the same work at the same working place, one marriage, one place to live. Therefore the future could be rather well predicted and aspirations and goals be adjusted to predictable courses of events. Today living in an industrialized and urbanized society with increased length of life expectations, change, mobility and agility rather than continuity are the basis for experiencing security. We change schools and working places, we move from city to city or within the city to

different areas. Marriages are broken up and new ones established. Mass media produce a stream of ever changing stimulation. Our means of transportation move us quickly through the scenery on high speeds, making it difficult to observe and enjoy nature.

There seems to exist a contradiction between the need for continuity and the need for change. Though people can adjust to change the absence of continuity may be experienced as rootlessness. On the other hand being adjusted to change may lead to the experience of continuity as being imprisoned. This contradiction seems to be increased by a tendency for societal rewards for repetitive action and continuity.

The tendency of rootlessness may also be increased by the experience that time is short for doing a certain thing and by experiencing that only short periods of time can be alloted to a certain activity until we are going to change again. Already in school children are trained that a certain subject is to be taught for a period of 40-50 minutes. Then a change is introduced. This may for children facilitate to keep attention. On the other hand this splitting up of school subjects into well defined time periods counteracts the possibility to transmit knowledge, being experienced as a whole, as an interrelation of diversified subjects which first make sense when placed within the frame of a totality.

This again leads to the experience of alienation, as expressed in the fact that people do not experience the historically given interconnections nor the societal interrelations existing at a given moment. Economic, political and social conditions and relations are not understood as interrelated. Neither are the various tendencies and actions of the same person and in relations to others understood as being a whole, the expression of a totality. The fact that people have difficulties to understand how things are interrelated, produces the experience of being exposed to strange or unknown and therefore uncontrollable forces existing outside the individual as well as inside himself.[6]

Some probable effects on children and youngsters

The lack of well established social networks, providing stability and a certain ego-strength, the absence of the father (and very often of the mother) from the home, creating difficulties for identification and the experience of a concrete beneficial authority — all these conditions seem to favor a personality type which has been characterized in the following way (Liljeström, op. cit. p 51):

> Children seem to function well at the surface, but seem to have difficulties to relate themselves emotionally in a warm and spontaneous way to others. Being smart, inconsiderate and even ruthless is appreciated more than being considerate. To be independent — at least at the surface — is valued higher than being able to attach oneself to others. There is a tendency to look at others as means for own needs, to treat them as objects or things and to avoid emotional engagement, except aggressions. Engagement in common societal goals does not occur and solidarity with other is unknown.

How can one explain this kind of acting or the personality structure on which it may be based?

I think one has to look for answers on different levels. On the societal level there is an absence of common societal goals.[7] We learn in an extremely individualistic way that the goals towards which we strive, are our private, personal goals. But we do not experience goals common for a society or subgroups in it. If there are no common societal goals, there cannot be any engagement in societal affairs.

Second, our society is first of all a commodity producing society. Everything in this society can be brought to the market and be sold.[8] Man in this society is transformed into a commodity. In the process of produc-

6. In this context it is interesting to note that current psychotherapeutic methods and ways of problem-solving emphasize man being a whole, a totality. One example is gestalt therapy (Perls et al. 1951).

7. Western observers of child-upbringing in China have emphasized that Chinese children, as different from children brought up in the Western world, are learning to identify themselves with societal goals, to subordinate personal needs to societal needs, etc. (See R. Liljeström op. cit.). However, these children are trained to make personal decisions to accept common societal goals in order to create personal commitment. In our society the absence of common societal goals and the lack of commitment to common values often leads to a more or less compulsive conformity or uniformity. Hence the commitment to societal values and goals can well be combined with individual decision-making and personal responsibility. On the other hand a lack of common goals and a commitment to personal individual goal-striving is often associated with lack of social responsibility and a tendency for conformity.

8. K. Marx described this tendency in the capitalistic society as the epoch in which "everything, which up to now has been considered as inalienable, is sold as objects of exchange, of chaffering. It is the time in which objects, which earlier have been conveyed, but never exchanged, have been given away but never offered for sale, have been acquired but never been bought: virtue, love, conviction, knowledge, consciousness and so on, the time in which, in one word, everything has been transformed into a commercial commodity. It is the time of general corruption, of universal briebery or, in the language of economics, it is the time when each object, physical as well as moral, is put on the market as an object of exchange to be taxed at its correct value." (1960 p 54).

tion he is transformed into the commodity labour power. In the production process he is not needed as a human being, but only as labour power, which easily can be substituted. In the sphere of consumption man is treated as buying power. Consumption is less oriented towards need satisfaction than towards a continuously ongoing buying of things, whether one needs them or not. In such a societal system children learn to value things — the exchange value commodities may have — but not human characteristics, moral and esthetic values. Other human beings are also viewed as objects or things (J. Israël, 1979 a).

It is this mode of production which is intimately related to the process of urbanization. "The metropolis has always been the seat of the money economy" says G. Simmel and continues

> money economy and the dominance of the intellect are intrinsically connected. They share a matter-of-fact attitude in dealing with men and with things / . . ./ money is concerned only with what is common to all: it asks for the exchange value, it reduces all quality and individuality to the question: How much? All intimate emotional relations between persons are founded in their individuality, whereas in rational relations man is reckoned with like a number, like an element which is in itself indifferent. Only the objective measurable achievement is of interest (1950, p 411).

Whereas these societal conditions give rise to reification, i.e. the transformation of man into an object, living in large cities strengthens the above mentioned personality structure.

One aspect, mentioned before, is the constant stream of stimulation. This can be conceptualized with the help of the concept "overload" borrowed from system analysis (S. Milgram, 1970). Overload refers "to a system's inability to process inputs from the environment because there are too many inputs for the system to cope with, or because successive inputs come so fast that input A cannot be processed when input B is presented" (p. 1461).

If an overload of input or stimulation occurs, one way of reacting is to restrict the time allocated to certain inputs. Thus overload and time-management are related to each other. Relations to other persons, e.g. interaction, as well as relations to objects are of short duration and at a superficial level without deeper engagement. A *second* adaptive mechanism to overload, also involving time management, is selecting certain inputs and disregarding others or assign to them low priority. This may lead to the restriction of taking upon oneself social responsibility (e.g. the disregard of people in streets in need of help).

> The principal point of interest for a social psychology of the city is that moral and social involvement with individuals is necessarily restricted. / . . ./ Such restrictions of involvement runs a broad spectrum from a refusal to become involved in the needs of another person, even when the person desperately needs assistance, through refusal to do favors, to the simple withdrawal of courtesies. / . . ./ In any transaction more and more details need to be dropped as the total number of units to be processed increases and assaults an instrument of limited processing capacity (Milgram op. cit. ibid).

In addition to the two aforementioned adaptive mechanism Milgram points out another four: 1. boundaries are redrawn so that the overloaded system can shift the burden of actions and responsibilities to other agents being perhaps as much overloaded, but having an inferior position in terms of power and resources. 2. The reception of social interaction is blocked off, e.g. by assuming an unfriendly or aggressive attitude, which discourages others. 3. The intensity of inputs is changed so that only weak and superficial forms of input are allowed to enter. 4. special social institutions are created to take care of problems and persons which otherwise would be a burden (e.g. the taking care of the aged, which e.g. in Sweden more and more is taken over by society and less and less remains the responsibility of their children).

We conclude in addition to the societal conditions prevailing, the very living in large cities is itself problematic. For children a problem is added in so far as city planning processes use as criteria maximizing profits and economic efficiency. Very few considerations are given to the need of children. "The dwelling environments are impoverished. To compensate children, playing grounds are created in residential areas. Children's experience of adults' productive activity disappeared and was substituted by artificial sojourning areas for children" (U. Dahlén, 1977). If planning with regard to children occurs, the same author adds, it is done *for* children not *with* children.[9] Therefore children often are looked upon as curious species of human

9. The absence of possibilities for children's caretaking may have serious consequences. A Swedish study of traffic accidents in which children are involved, indicate that accidents rarely occur before 8 AM and after 7 PM. Half of all accidents occurred between 2 and 5 PM. The age group being afflicted most are children between 6-9 years (1971). A German investigation shows that 62°₀ of all registered traffic accidents involving children occurred between 12 and 6 PM (I. Peter Habermann, 1979, p 18). In this study it also turned out that the smaller the apartment and the less playing possibilities at home the greater the risk for accidents.

beings. This leads to a still greater artificiality of their playgrounds and other environments as would be necessary. Children hence are largely disregarded or treated in an artificial way.

On time-management outside the family

We have tried to indicate how societal conditions, the physical environment produced by these conditions and the direct social interaction within the family lead to a series of problems. One problem, being the effect of these conditions is a conflict between available time and existing interests in different areas of life.

We are in the paradoxical situation that increasing the material standard of living and the acquisition of gadgets to facilitate time management has created time problems. A car may save us time; but its maintenance may cost a lot of time. To use a TV-set, a record-player, a tape recorder, a radio and a walkie-talkie simultaneously is senseless, but owning them will demand decisions concerning time-management. The more gadgets we buy the less time do we have to use them. The more information we receive the greater the problem to decide which to select. Time-management refers to at least three problems: 1) the sense and experience of historical conditions in private life as well as in societal; 2) the use of our time here and now and decisions concerned with it; 3) the perception of the future and expectations concerning it.

I. In the past, and especially in the agrarian society there existed a relative stability in daily life and strong ties to previous generations and their way of living. Parents taught their children occupational skills as well as moral values and attitudes towards life, being often conservative.

Today parents rarely teach children any occupational or professional skills. Training and education has been placed outside the frame of the family. In addition many children will, due to rapid technical changes, learn jobs, which did not exist when they were born.

Traditional values and ways of actions have to be substituted by flexibility, mobility and agility. Children have to learn to relate themselves to a great variety of situations, groups and individuals and to quickly to break off these relations. The intervals for continuous relations, perception of the world and activities become increasingly shortened. As a consequence we believe that experiences of the past especially the feelings of connection are weakened. This holds for relations to the past on a societal level as well as for relations to the past on a social level. Children today experience more likely to be uprooted than children hundred years ago.

II. Time-management in our dayly life is characterized by the earlier mentioned paradoxical situation that time- and laborsaving devices create a scarcity of time or at least a subjective experience of scarcity. Parents feel themselves often stressed by these conditions and therefore may easily experience children as a burden. Furthermore, children spend their time to an increasing degree outside the family. In nursery schools and schools they experience that they are taken care of. They have not so much chances to take care of themselves in meaningful activities, which would imply decisions concerning the use of time.

The situation becomes different for adolescents. But their possibilities of time-management is highly correlated with social and economic background since spending of time usually involves spending of money.[10]

In general the parents' socio-economic background plays an important role for the time-management of their children. A Swedish study (Dahlén 1977) indicates that children growing up in a middle and upper class residential area are well taken care of during the day by their mothers and have plenty of play possibilities with a lot of playgrounds. At the same time they live in a well segregated environment with few experiences of children belonging to other social classes.

Children, however, growing up in working class families and especially in families where both parents work or where there is no father and the mother has to provide for the family, have quite different experiences. They often have to spend quite a lot of time alone after having finished school. They are given a key and have to manage on their own, until tired mothers and fathers return from work and long travelling from the work-place. Usually these parents cannot mobilize the time and patience to take care of their children in

10. J. Adelson (1975) makes the following an somewhat astonishing categorical statement, concerning time experience of the adolescent:

> He is locked up into the presentness. He has no strong sense of history, of time past and its bearing on time present; nor does he discern well the larger impact of time present on time future. His view of the future is constricted; he may grasp the effect of today on tomorrow, but not on the day after tomorrow (p 68).

The unqualified generality of such statements is likely to arise suspicions concerning its scientific value. Statements like the quoted one and a general tendency of avoiding to treat questions of time as a factor in itself, seem to be quite characteristical for the literature on ecological psychology.

a way which is need-satisfying. Hence psychological disturbances are not unusual especially among these children. However, being alone during extended periods of the day may at the same time develop a sense of independence and of responsibility for one's ways of spending the time.

III. The concept of "expectation" is useful in analyzing the experience of the future. Especially important is the concept of "role-expectation" since it is concerned with the future behavior of persons, oneself as well as others. This concept carries, however a double meaning. "Role expectation" refers both to the expected behavior of other and may therefore affect forthcoming own reactions. But "role expectations" also has a normative connotation. We expect others to behave in a certain way and they do so with regard to ourselves. To this type of expectations sanctions are related (see H. Kreutz 1975 p. 108).

The distinction is important since normative role expectation do not usually carry the idea of changes in the future, where as the non-normative anticipations very often are concerned with forthcoming changes. Hence in the attitude toward the future we may have both a conservative and a conserving element directed toward the maintenance of the given and a radical — revolutionary — or evolutionary — anticipation of necessary or desired change.

Action then may refer to a passive watching that everything remains unchanged or looking on as things change. It may also mean the active involvement in maintaining the existent as well as in action to change the given.

If we look at children and adolescents we then may divide them into those who are passive watchers either of the maintenance of the given or ongoing changes and into those who actively work for maintenance or for change. It is my personal opinion — though not corroborated by extensive research — that children and especially adolescents in their majority belong to the described types of passive watchers in our society. Only a minority is active in either maintaining or changing society. I believe that this is intimately connected to existing power and hierarchy-structures. In spite of basic democratic rights important decisions concerning life and death, our social and individual welfare are made by few, by a minority controlling human, and especially, material resources.

For a certain number of youth the creation of a counterculture has been a way out of the impasse. It is my opinion as a sociologist and my hope as a citizen that ideas from this counterculture will spread to an increasing number of persons to make their living in urban areas within a technocratic society more endurable.

Épilogue

In a discussion of changes in time experience I.T. Fraser argues that

> the scientific and industrial revolutions have turned the oppressive medieval emphasis on tradition to an equally oppressive modern emphasis on no tradition; we have gone from time-as-being to time-as-becoming. The chaos of American values is the hubris detested by the Greeks. The continuous lip service paid to the future corresponds to the instinctive concern of all creatures with the future and resembles that of the adolescent who builds castles in the air. In this respect, it is important to note that only after his identity crisis has been weathered, does the young man learn that aspect of continuity which carries him beyond the nest building of birds to the intentionality, care and concern of man (1975, p 380).

Hence our society is characterized by the transformation of human, political and moral values into values of productivity and efficiency. This is accompanied by a tendency to believe that human problems are best solved when treated as technical problems.

Festivity and fantasy is met with suspicion, Fraser declares and continues:

> Removing the faculties for festivity and fantasy amounts, therefore to the removal of man from history, to plunging of man into an eternal timeless present" (op. cit. p 385)

As an alternative he quotes Bob Dylan:

> "The answer my friend, is blowin' in the wind
> The answer is blowin' in the wind."

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LECTURE 9

Planning in space and in time: problems encountered and decisions taken

Mr. Edmund N. Bacon, Director of Urban Planning, City of Philadelphia

The planners of this Congress on Urban Life and the Child have developed an imposing array of questions and have assembled an impressive group of experts from many countries to answer them.

The further question is raised in my mind, "Would it not be better to ask the children themselves?"

There are two ways in which to ask children questions:

1. to formulate the question so that the desired answer is implied and then reward the child for giving the desired answer, regardless of the real feelings of the child;

2. to formulate the question so that it serves as a stimulus to thought rather than as an exercise in "correct" response.

An outstanding example of the former type of questioning is the 1912 "Wacker's Manual of the Plan of Chicago", studied widely in the Chicago schools, which contained such questions as, "Why is the Chicago Plan superior to that of any other city, foreign or otherwise?" When the students became adults and assumed the reins of Chicago leadership, they built at least parts of the plan they had studied in school. By then the plan was thirty years out-of-date. The magnificent Chicago waterfront of today attests to the facts that parts of the plan could stand the thirty year lag. The fact remains that a much more future-oriented type of planning education is needed.

The second type of questioning was that used by Oskar Stonorov and myself in the development of the schoolchildren's component of the 1947 Better Philadelphia Exhibition. In order to overcome the problem of the time-lag, we felt that it would be better to teach to process of planning itself rather than a plan formulated by somebody else. Thus, the children became the planners.

We went into thirteen classrooms in the public, private and parochial schools, from kindergarten to technical high school. Working with the classroom teachers we encouraged the children to make a study of their own neighbourhood around their own school, how it had changed over time and what it was like today. We suggested that they make a model of their neighbourhood as it then was, and then make a model of the way they would like it to be in the future. We supplied the school with maps and model materials and the children went to work with a zest.

The results were truly spectacular. The kindergarten children made models of the ideal playground with pipe cleaners and modelling clay, brightly painted with show-card colors. There were cartoons in which children expressed their opinion of adults who allowed playgrounds to become covered with broken glass. The technical high school made a model in which sections of existing development disappeared to be replaced by the imagined new development, all driven by elaborate electrical machinery. The most brilliant pair of models was done by a class of exceptional children, then called "orthogenic backward". Here one could almost smell the degradation of the neighbourhood as it then existed, and one could delight in the sparkling vision of the future with its red roofed cottages surrounded by picked-fenced gardens and the glass structures on the school roofs so that the children could play in the sun.

These children, and the tens of thousands of their peers who saw their work in the city planning exhibit, have now grown up. The deep impression which this experience made on them surely is a factor in the brilliant revitalization of downtown Philadelphia which occurred some twenty to thirty years later.

Sadly, this enormously vital and creative experience could not be replicated by the Public School administration. A special classroom was built in the permanent city planning exhibition, but soon it became the scene for the kind of sterile questioning that was used in the Wacker's Manual of Chicago.

In order to be most helpful, the questions which would serve as the basis for classroom discussion should try to make the child more aware of the kinds of changed conditions he faces during his mature years. For example, the child might be asked to imagine his city with no gasoline, or, at least, no gasoline available for individual transportation, i.e., the automobile. This, I think, would be a very useful exercise, for surely all of the children in school today will face at least a severely curtailed use of gasoline for individual mobility. The change of life style which this will require will place severe stress on many institutions and habits of thought.

With no preparation, this stress can lead to serious disruption and disorders of magnitude far greater than those we have recently witnessed in the United States, such as truckers' blockades of the highways and murders in the gasoline lines.

With preparation, this curtailment of the use of gasoline for private transportation can be seen as a new opportunity to rethink our fundamental values, to rid ourselves of an accumulation of habits and thought that are non-productive, and to change our life-style in such a way that we rediscover joys and relationships we had forgotten.

For the remainder of this paper I will give my own view of the city of the future, the city that will be after we have accepted the reality that no longer can we afford to burn up gasoline for private mobility; the Post Petroleum City. This will be based on my projections of an extended period of experience as a practitioner of the art of city making. I know that the city of the future will not be as I project it, nor should it because my ideas are rooted in a different age. If my efforts to foresee it will inspire, will stimulate, or even will irritate the children of today to foresee their own city of tomorrow, then my work shall have achieved its purpose.

With the automobile gone, the streets of the city can be recaptured for human use. At each end of the residential block will be a gate. These gates will be operated by an elderly couple which lives on the block, which in general oversees conditions on the street. The gates are opened when the infant is brought home from the hospital, and when the corpse is removed to the cemetery or cremation. Otherwise, the land of the street is for human use.

This means that any child stepping out of his front door, however, small he may be, will be stepping into his garden. Here he will find his friends. Here he will be free to make and hold a friend or friends of his own choosing. Here the children may combine, separate or recombine into pairs or groupings of their own choosing, free from parental constraints because they are not dependent on mechanical transportation for social interaction.

Because we will no longer be able to afford the wide separation of houses on large lots, each block will contain many families, and so a wide choice of friends. Because the city will reintensify itself with the demise of the gasoline-wasteful dispersed suburbs, each block will tend to contain a wide variety of families of different ethnic, racial and cultural backgrounds. This will provide the child from infancy with an experiential awareness that the world is made up of a great variety of kinds of people, an awareness it is impossible to get naturally in any ghetto, be it inner city black or suburban white.

Suddenly we will discover that there is already all the open space we need in the city. Because the street itself becomes the playground we will not need, the number of separated, difficult to manage and expensive playgrounds we have today.

We will discover, too, that this new focus on the block will stimulate a new kind of involvement of children and young people in the welfare of the block. Perhaps the trash will be collected by young people and put into containers at the end of the block to facilitate efficient pickup. Certainly, keeping the block clean can involve young people. Groups of young people can be trained in home maintenance and repair, and so serve a useful purpose and also see the results of their labors in a brightening up of their own environment.

At the ends of the blocks will be the cross streets or transportation streets, with electrically driven transit and taxis, leading to the stations, around which will cluster the needed community facilities, shopping, entertainment, cultural, schools. From here electrically driven trains will lead to the metropolitan centers which will experience a rebirth as the cultural and creative focus of the region because of their location at the center of converging transportation line.

Social interaction beyond the range of walking will be achieved by bicycle. A new technology will be developed, including storage lockers at rail stations, special clothing and weather protection; even fashions will be adjusted to work with the bicycle. The fact that the range of one's social connections will be determined by one's physical condition will be a new kind of stimulus to keep in shape.

The reclustering of cities in a more closely-knit pattern along electrically driven transportation lines will bring about a new attitude toward nature. Instead of seeking contact with natural surroundings each day, which was the ideal of the suburban pursuit, and which will no longer be possible because there won't be the gasoline for the daily commute, this goal will be transferred to a new time rhythm, a once-weekly objective. Bicycle trains are only one example of energy-economical ways to facilitate experiencing the open countryside. Perhaps there will be a four day week with a three-day weekend, facilitating the use of cabins or tents in isolated places. Finally the city itself will be seen as a part of nature, and we will learn how to live more naturally in it.

Visions of this sort have rarely been put forth. It seems to me that they are very important to prepare the way for the crunch that is coming when the true facts of the petroleum dilemma are borne home. If these facts are seen only as a cause for surrendering values we now hold and for lowering the quality of our lives, the consequences can be serious indeed. If they are seen as a new opportunity, the inevitable adjustment can be a creative one.

My confidence in the capacity of young people to see new values, to penetrate through the immediate difficulties to a better state ahead, to adjust in a creative way to the new things they will experience is very strong.

We can help by asking questions which will stimulate their thinking, and we can help them by adumbrating new visions of new ways of living.

They themselves, will take the action that is needed. And so I think that the child of the future will find the Post Petroleum city to be far more sympathetic and responsive to his needs than are the automobile cities of today.

The automobile is the enemy of the child. It drives a wedge between him and his peers, inhibiting one of the most important phases of child development: his finding his place in natural social groupings.

In the denser city areas the wedge is an actual threat to his bodily well-being, and, indeed to his very survival caused by insensitive, crushing mechanical devices speeding by his door.

In the sprawling suburbs the wedge is the isolating effect of the space between the child and his friend which can only be overcome by the actual use of the enemy, the automobile itself. Thus social contact becomes dependent on other people's will and convenience; drivers of the vehicle, mother, friend's mother, chauffeur. This destroys the possibility of the child's spontaneously selecting his own friends and his own social grouping. It makes his creative social development dependent on someone else, worst of all, exclusively on an adult.

There are planners in the United States who have said, with the development of the high technology of mechanical communication, it doesn't matter where a family lives because the necessary social contact can be provided by the video-phone, CB radio and the like. This is the most vicious and cruel doctrine given out as planning dictum. It completely ignores the facts of child development.

What child could find satisfaction in confining his social experiences to communication with his friends by video phone? It cuts off completely nine-tenths of the sensory bases of human interaction. It denies that the child even has a body. It denies the joy and pain of bodily contact, of kinesthetic muscular interaction, of games and creative play, of spontaneous groupings, pairings, lonings and regroupings. A society devoted to such a concept is a society committing suicide.

With the automobile gone on residential streets, the child goes out his front door into his garden where he meets and recreates with his friends. He will find his place, indeed he will make his place in the complex social interaction of friendship, cooperation and competition, and social group making. He will be able to relate the locus of the group activities to the age development of which he is a part, and to participate in interage activities.

No longer will the large, equipment packed playground placed by adults in arbitrary locations have the same role; playgrounds which all too often are direct causes of social stress because they are so far removed from the home base that they are identified with by nobody, they are cared for by nobody, they are seen as the responsibility of nobody except the impersonal "they" of the Recreation Department. No wonder playgrounds so often are the scenes of vandalism and strife.

We have turned virtually the whole city over the automobile without thinking. The restoration within the city of respect for the role of the child in urban life will require a new evaluation of the role of the automobile and a new definition of the territory in which its interests are to predominate over the interests of the child. A shift in value in the support we give in the conflicting interests of the automobile and the child within the city is crucial to the future well-being of our Society.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE 3rd GENERAL THEME

Mr. Harry Kuntz, Secretary of the Protestant Committee,
Conseil Supérieur de l'Éducation

The third general theme of the Congress invited the participants to discuss "Ecosystems and rhythms of urban life and the management of time". The theme sought to clarify the background of the urban environment and the place the child occupies in it.

Dr. Pierre Dansereau, in charge of outlining the framework for subsequent discussions, approached this theme by means of an analysis of the working of cycles, of the range of exploitation systems and of natural ecosystems. This brought him to human ecology, its structures and urban functions; finally it led him to the child and the opportunities for happiness and for danger which confront him in the city.

Three sub-themes were presented after this in order to study in greater depth this ecological perspective.

First Mr. Georges Rioux shared his thoughts on "Ecosystems and rhythms of intra-family life and the management of time". Taking as a departure point the importance Mr. Rioux attributed to the family setting in the shaping of the intellectual, moral and emotional consciousness of the child, the first discussion group set down the following recommendations:

1. Sensitize the parents (father-mother) to the shared educational task within the family by:

* becoming aware of the education received and the values conveyed,
* the presence of the father at the confinement,
* the testimony on the experience of couples having shared this event,
* choosing to become parents and taking the responsibilities jointly,
* underlining the role of the father and its importance to the stability of the family,
* creating from birth the emotional tie by direct contact mother-child (cohabitation) and simultaneous participation of the father.

2. To offer men and women the possibility to make a choice in organizing their time, taking into consideration their different roles as a couple, as parents and as persons working (or studying) outside the family, by means:

* Of a salary for the woman in the home without the interference of the State in the family organization.
* Of promoting part-time or half-time work.
* Of day-care centres near the place of work.
* Of expanding the existing Québec law concerning job-security in case of maternity.
* Of more flexible work schedules for both men and women.

3. Sensitize the children (girls and boys) in the family and in the school to their future role as parents by means of collaboration between their parents and the educators, basing themselves more on experience than on theory.

4. To modify the environment:

* By reducing the architectural dimensions (schools, etc.) to more human dimensions for adults and children.
* By extending the family atmosphere through adequate decoration of the premises, particularly by using different colours giving the child a spatio-temporal reference.
* By recreating community neighborhoods in the city that would facilitate the management of family time.
* By improving transportation.
* By allowing the integration of senior citizens into the environment surrounding the family (day-care centres, nurseries, leisure, schools).

5. To consider family leisure as an essential and vital means in stimulating family life and the development of the child.

In the second sub-theme Mr. Joachim Israël described "Ecosystems and rhythms of extra-family life and the management of time". When reviewing the ten theoretical considerations the members of the second discussion group retained the following propositions:

1. In individuals the experience of contradiction is an intrinsic part of change and of life. The important thing in the development of the child is to provide him with a secure environment in which conflict is possible and solutions conceivable.

2. The family could become a workshop for individual growth by allowing children to learn to resolve conflicting situations. Within a truly democratic family the child must be encouraged to participate in decision making. This goes against the present way the family functions, where production values are transmitted, consumerism taught and where the child's emotional needs are not met.

3. Lacking a common goal, society replaces it by pseudo-mutual expressions (clothing, etc.). The family and the community must give the child a sense of independence and of solidarity.

The group advocated a conciliation of research and of participation in the following recommendations:

1. To improve the experimental context of the child and the family in which community action is supported by:

* The management of community leisure.

* The establishment of transportation-participation.

* The activity of daily community life (communal kitchen, communal holidays).

2. To experiment with a school environment which would aim at giving children a different experience of time. The school could integrate in a continuum the daily experience by stressing the interaction between academic content and the life of the student (family, community).

In the last sub-theme Mr. Edmund Bacon shared his experience in "planning in space and time". In the workshop discussion a major theme can be perceived which was expressed in two parts: the importance of the child's participation in the conception of the city, which gives rise to the necessity for the child to truly participate in the daily life of the city.

1. **Participation in the conception**

* For this participation to be real it must not be the result of a conditioning compelling the formulation of an answer deemed correct, but must try to give the child the means to take charge of his environment. It must therefore aim at a *training in intervention on the environment.*

* This participation raises the question of de-professionalization in which the traditional attitudes of planners, urbanists and architects are re-examined. They will have to learn to share their knowledge and at the same time to integrate into their decisions the clearly felt and expressed needs of the children in particular and of users in general.

* This participation by the children will allow the integration of their values into the management of the physical environment and will open the door to a more flexible planning, permitting the incorporation of new values.

2. **Participation in daily life**

One cannot imagine participation in the conception of the city if the city is not open and accessible to the children on a daily basis. This participation will allow:

* A personal knowledge of the city and of the means of action in and on the city; an awareness of the urban environment in all its facets.

* The experience of life in the city centre; the meeting of different social classes and ethnic groups, which are important elements in the training of the child, elements that could result in the future in the child demonstrating a will to action and assuming responsibility for social problems perceived as facts of life.

* The interaction of children in experiencing the city and learning about it. The child truly integrated in the city is the best guarantee for the future of the city, the knowledge that he will have acquired of it allowing him to assume fully his role as citizen.

Keeping in mind Mr. Bacon's warning that the fact of thinking in terms of problems will act as a brake on the possibilities of action, the workshop group formulated the following general and specific recommendations:

1. To impel the child to be aware

* of his environment,

* of the transformations of the environment in space and time,

* of the possibilities of a dynamic and creative environment,

* of the forces that transform the environment,

* of the means and various possibilities of intervening in the environment and acting upon it.

2. To further the participation of children in programs aimed at re-designing play and school spaces.

3. To create pedestrian streets.

4. To give priority to the integration into the city of children from underprivileged environments.

5. To encourage spontaneous creative activities in public spaces, for example the possibility for young people to play music in the metro.

6. To use school equipment for recreational and community ends.

Conclusion

In conclusion one can say that the workshops of the third theme see a reformed city where the child participates in the management of his time and space, where he can truly take charge of the components of his environment and in which human relations are encouraged, particularly in the family.

SUMMING-UP LECTURE

Urban Life and the Child

Professor Henri Laborit, Eutonology Laboratory, Hôpital Boucicaut

To study the child in the city means:

1. To isolate conceptually, according to age, a sub-unit, the unit "children" from the human unit which comprises in addition adults and old people.

2. But this division into units is itself insufficient, because a different division of the urban whole is possible, a division which will isolate different social classes, as for example the immigrants, the labourers and the specialized workers, the tertiary sector, the executives, the technocrats. Each of these sub-units contains the sub-unit "children" as well.

3. This division into units has, nevertheless, the advantage of helping to emphasize the relations that exist between a sub-unit and the encompassing units. For biology teaches us that in complex systems like those of living organisms (and human societies are living organisms at a level of organization which encompasses individuals) the same purpose must guide the action of the various sub-units in order for the system to function, while the encompassing unit allows for these various actions to be realized within the geo-climatic space in which it exists.

4. Hence we will have to ask ourselves first, what the purpose of urban units is within the context of their historical evolution.

What is the city, its origin, its meaning? What is the child? What do we mean when we speak of the quality of his life, of his blossoming? All vague words which allow for every impudence.

1. A schematic review of urban bio-sociology

An oyster will always produce only an oyster shell, a snail only a snail shell. What I mean by this is that the city is not an organism, although we attribute to it a heart and arteries with a circulation. It is only the product, almost the secretion, of a human unit; and, if I may say so, this unit has but the city it deserves. But the individuals who make up a human unit are not isolated from each other, and the unit they constitute is not in turn isolated from other human units which populate the world. The relations that are established between individuals are not fortuitous; they are established through the agency of the *nervous systems* of the individuals permitting them to act and to communicate. All the actions of an organism, thanks to its nervous system, have only one object: to maintain the structure of the organism, its biological balance, thus achieving its "pleasure". The only reason for a being of being is to be. But action is performed in space. If space were empty, action would be useless. If space contains objects that are dangerous to survival, they will be avoided or strife will eradicate the cause of displeasure. When the contact with these objects results in pleasure, in gratification, the strategy of action which is then memorized induces reinforcement or, in other words, the repetition of the gratifying action. Indeed no "instinct" for the defence of one's territory exists, nor an "instinct" of property. Only nervous systems exist which *learn* by experience to know the space, the territory in which gratifying objects are to be found and which must remain at their disposal in order to make the repetition of the gratifying action possible. They then say that these objects are theirs. But if a number of individuals find gratification in the same objects or the same beings, competition arises and *hierarchical ladders* are established. The nervous tracts and the biochemical mechanisms that underlie this behavior and its consequence, competitive aggressiveness, begin to be known. They can even be influenced pharmacologically.

Man, compared to other species, possesses only one specific characteristic: associative systems particularly well developed in the orbito-frontal regions. The experience of its contacts with the environment, pleasant or unpleasant, will leave traces on the nervous tracts used by the influx created by it. A synthesis of proteins will transform these traces in the same way as contact with a bacillus transforms certain cells by also inducing a protein synthesis that produces antibodies. Immunogenic memory has many points in common with nervous memory. If associative systems are capable of associating nervous tracts in a manner different from that imposed by the environment, the result will be the creation of new structures, of imaginary structures. Man will create information, he will shape matter and energy. This working hypothesis must be tested by experience and by action against what we are agreed to call reality. This faculty of imagination has allowed the species to protect itself effectively from the surrounding environment. It has made possible

the rise of agriculture and animal husbandry, of the progressive development of language, which in turn made it possible to transmit experience through generations and to communicate inter-individually. This latter dates from the time when attachment to the soil brought about the beginnings of functional specialization in individuals among the first human groups at the start of the neolithic period. Beginning in fact with the end of the last glacial period, that of Wurm, ten to twelve thousand years ago, the ethnic groups that had settled around the 45th parallel of the Northern hemisphere in the temperate regions where seasonal rhythms (summer-winter) had appeared, were able, thanks to the development of that technical information and mainly thanks to agriculture and animal husbandry, to accumulate reserves during the summer in order to survive during the winter. It was a period of abundance and we have paleontological proof that for a period of 4 000 years, until about 6 000 years before our era, in the Mediterranean east for instance, the first neolithic villages sheltered matrilineal, egalitarian populations that did not possess arms. But other ethnic groups at a lower level of technical evolution, still at the hunting stage and therefore still able to handle arms, were driven to take advantage of these gratifying objects (grain and cattle reserves as well as the territory supplying them). Competition was born and with it the idea of property, of competitive aggressiveness, of social classes (chiefs, warriors, peasants; later priests and scribes), affecting as much the productive ethnic group as the technically less developed human group. These notions, as well as those of the nuclear family, of the child being the property of the couple, the fear of the bastard, are absent in the populations of certain regions of the globe, as for instance in many of the South Pacific Islands where the material problem of survival has never arisen in the guise of lack of food, of protection against the cold and the inclement weather.

Technical development was later the instrument that established dominance for the possession of things and beings. It extends to our days with the manipulation of the atom. But as soon as more and more abstract technical information based on physics and its language, the mathematics, resulted in the invention of machines capable of producing many objects in a short time, dominance progressively shifted from the warrior to the bourgeois, and more recently to the technocrat and the bureaucrat capable of inventing, controlling and administrating machines and the resulting industries. Progress has become an exclusively technical progress, good in itself, characteristic of human creativity. But ignorance of the biology of behavior and of the unconscious motivations that gave rise to progress always supplied logical alibis, rational analyses of the value judgements that actuate dominant behavior among the primitives within the ladder of the species.

The historical synopsis was necessary to place *the city* in its behavioral context in the industrial age we have reached. The modern megalopolies in which the child will be born are the result of this quest for dominance, inter-individual, inter-group and international dominance based on the ever more effective productivity in goods and arms. It is the quest for dominance that has demanded this technical progress, and with the emergence of industrial societies, the disorderly urbanization and the race for production. The modern city is the product of a hierarchically organized society and its structure is conceived solely to uphold the existence of hierarchical dominance. It encourages the creation of needs acquired thanks to an improved dissimination of publicity and to information favorable to the maintenance of this structure of dominance through the control of the mass-media (Laborit, 1973). The city is the *crucible* in which technical progress is elaborated and at the same time it is the *expression of this progress*. And technical progress is the result of *competitive aggressiveness*, institutionalized, legislated, hallowed, while the true man of science who adds something essential to the stone of human knowledge is, as Einstein wrote with profound psychological insight, "permeated by a cosmic religious feeling". This feeling, he said "is the strongest and noblest spring of scientific research". It is in this urban context in which everything has been turned into merchandise, in which the end of all motivation is to rise within the hierarchical system, in which one learns as a child that the only happiness is social promotion, it is in this urban context, where friends do not exist but only competitors who will rule you if you do not succeed in ruling them, that we will have to place the child and understand him.

II. **The child**

What is the child of Man? In comparison with the young of other mammals he is an underprivileged being, for he can act on his environment only belatedly. He must learn everything. From birth he must master the consciousness of his body. He does not know that he is in an environment apart from himself. It is, for instance, by touching his foot with his hand and feeling a tactile sensation on his fingers and on his foot, a sensation closed upon itself so to say, that he discovers progressively the limits and the reach of his body, while by touching his bottle his sensations open on a world which is not himself. This mastering of the consciousness of his body is a crucial period which corresponds to what K. Lorenz describes as the period of "the imprint" and which leads the child toward what Lacan has called the stage of the mirror, around the tenth or twelfth month. The definitive mastery of the consciousness of the body is often arrived at only much

later, around the age of two or three, an age when the first memories of the consciousness of his body remain engraved on the memory into adulthood. Until that time the newborn, the infant, the little child lives in what some psychiatrists call their "I-all" (moi-tout). A crucial period indeed, because the nervous system is still malleable and its neurons will create synaptic contacts among themselves which depend on the stimuli provided by the environment. While memory after this period will really rest on the material foundation of protein synthesis whose coding can still be erased, the cerebral structure which takes shape during the imprint period is indelible. If the experience is gratifying, if it is rich, varied, multiple, the whole future will be conditioned by it, but it will also be conditioned by it if the experience is painful, frustrating, impoverished, linear. And Freud was right in his empirical intuition to emphasize this period on which almost the whole future personality of the individual depends.

First in this period, then during childhood and adolescence, the socio-cultural niche in which the child grows up will introduce into his nervous system the automatisms of action and thought, the rules to be followed in order to be rewarded and to avoid being punished, the rigid code of behavior and of concepts that will shape what analysts call the superego which varies according to epochs, regions and class. The code is so rigid that only later and very seldom will it be challenged, and individuals will consider it as containing essential, fundamental values that constitute the very "essence" of Man. Nevertheless one easily grasps that this code is not made for *the individual* but created *to maintain and protect the social structure in which Man has taken his place.* He is taught "good" behavior within society.

We have seen earlier on what bio-behavioral bases inter-individual relations are established in a space. We have seen why they develop into relations of inter-individual, inter-group and international dominance in which it is not those dominated who decree the rules of action but the dominants. When in the course of history the dominated, turned revolutionary, have achieved dominance, these new dominants then decree the new laws to establish and maintain dominance. It was thus with the French Revolution, thus with the Russian Revolution of 1917. In all cases dominance perseveres. It only changes its shape and its subjects, switching from the aristocrat to the bourgeois, from the bourgeois to the bureaucrat or the technocrat. The child is taught very early to conform to it if he wishes to be "happy", that is to participate in the dominance in order to participate in the ownership of things and beings. Whatever the social regime, in industrialized societies the result is competitive aggressiveness which also created the modern megalopolies.

The child's education will essentially consist in introducing him as soon as possible into the system of goods production, and taking into consideration the role played by machines in this production, his dominance will be based on the degree of abstraction he will reach in his professional education. As physics and mathematics allow to play a more effective role in this "mechanized" system, proficiency in these fields will be particularly rewarded by material and narcissistic gratifications, by power. But no effort will be made to mold the child into a Man, to give him the possibility of using his associative system outside the creation of technical information supporting commercial innovation. Once rewarded his only wish will be to preserve the social structure that gratifies him. The rungs of the hierarchical ladder are so numerous in such societies that in the end everyone is dominated by someone, and in turn dominates others, which makes for the stability of the system.

III. **The child and the city**

As a member of the *Haut comité de l'Environnement* in France I participated two years ago in a working group in charge of studying those excluded from the quality of the city ("Les exclus de la qualité de la ville"). It is interesting to note that the group specified "children, old people and the handicapped" as being those excluded. It was undoubtedly unthinkable that the productive adult, capable of work, be among those excluded. Work, as everyone knows, is joy, freedom and health. It is the adult who builds the city and he is perforce happy. The report of the above working group reads in part: "It is important that the active people, those who hold power be willing to consider a new status for the underprivileged." As if the bulk of workers, of labourers, of immigrants, of working mothers, saleswomen and other employees, although adult and active, held any kind of power. At the other end of the ladder, what power does a chief executive or even a chief of state have over the social structures of dominance established since the beginning of the industrial era in developed countries? Locked in by a planetary social determinism which they do not understand, they can only express the wish for dominance and competitivity of the nation-state or the multinationals in relation to the other nation-states and multinationals. The child in the city can only be for them the object of a "humanist" concern, as it is called, of piecemeal reforms lacking breadth because they never dare to examine the root of the problem which is not national but planetary.

Within the framework of these generalizations another problem, seldom dealt with, is that of the relativity of "managed" time. The city is built with the time of physics, the time of matter, which is in the process of mineralizing the urban space, while this mineralization is motivated by sociological time which, as we have

seen, develops faster than the biological time of the individual. The biological time of the individual itself varies with age: that of the child is slow, that of old people fast. We also know that time cannot be dissociated from space. The proof can be found in the destruction of certain neighborhoods, surrendered to real estate speculators who erect on the reclaimed space buildings of high standing that drive the tenants of the former neighborhoods, into the suburbs. They must now cover considerable space to reach their place of employment, they must sometimes use a number of different means of transport, in other words lose considerable time because of the management of space. In the midst of these multiple relations of dominance the quality of life of the child is never taken into consideration, as he belongs to another world, to a non-productive unit while urban space is a merchandise.

It is within this framework of social relations whose validity has never been challenged that an attempt is made to improve the quality of life of the child. We do not intend to repeat here all the clichés, the pious hopes, the generous wishes expressed to this end: improvement of architecture, of household appliances, of furniture, of playgrounds, adventure grounds as they are called, "waste grounds legalized by the blessing of socio-psychologists" (B. Weber), improvement of relations between child and family, particularly the mother (day care centres, nurseries, etc.) but without inquiring why today's mothers look with good reason, for economic autonomy. This question would reopen the inquiry into the meaning of the nuclear patriarcal family as well as the question of acquired needs, mobilized by the publicity which keeps commerce and production going, while at the same time it increases the mass of wage earners and encourages unemployment. The women at work benefits the system, for she generally is an underpaid wage-earner. But what about the child in this system? He will be taken care of by the development of so-called cultural and sports activities where he will be well supervised, walking in step even without a uniform. Culture will thus be able to reproduce itself by avoiding deviant behavior, by encouraging conformism. Above all nothing must change. The adult has foreseen everything; it is not the children who have invented the society of our day, the society from which they will attempt to escape, awkwardly at times, turning to drugs and delinquence. The image, according to a current expression, of a "dehumanized" father, a robot, aged before his time, sometimes trying to escape into alcohol, this manly and authorized drug, is not sufficiently exalted to serve as a model for the child.

We want him to have "an equality of opportunities". But opportunities for what? To become a bourgeois, to take a profitable place in the production system by reaching a high degree of abstraction in his professional activity, by allowing him to graduate from an institution of higher learning (Grande École) rather than to stop at the public school level. The majority of parents wants for its children only the possibility to climb an additional rung up the social ladder, happiness being exclusively dependent on this promotion. How many parents appreciate their children only in relation to the success they achieve, thus proving their value, make them responsible for failure which is inevitably due to their lazyness, while they, the parents, have set an example of unremitting work, of labour, of sacrifice and self-denial.

I am afraid to wound too many susceptibilities by attempting to show the meaning of what is generally called the love of parents for their children, the children of whom we intend to make free men when not even their birth is free, decided not by them but by their begetters. Later the child will have to show gratitude to them for having brought him into the world. Let us admit that it is frequently a matter of institutionalized primary masochism. The child becomes the private property of the parents who decide what road he will follow to be happy. Like any notion of property, that of the child being owned by his parents is a matter of the gratification he can procure. Where does this sense of gratification stem from? Its unconscious source lies in the fear of death. The child gives the parents the feeling that through him they extend their life, that they keep death at bay. One would like to know what remains in the third generation of the genetic capital transmitted by one of the parents. Besides, are we so exceptional that we could wish, without smiling, to inflict our presence on future generations through the intermediary of our descendants? And finally, these unconscious parents who move around blind and deaf, who work to have the right to eat, to drink, to have a shelter and to make love when they still have time and strength for it, do they believe that they decide anything concerning the life of their children? The institution has taken charge, and this is the reason why we are gathered here today.

If all human actions are motivated by the quest for pleasure which is nothing but the quest for biological balance, for survival, how can the action of the child be motivated? He witnesses this gigantic grabbing contest, this aggressive competitiveness which starts in nursery school and ends only with death while, like every man in the world, he obscurely strives in a fundamental narcissism to escape the loneliness that attends all human life as soon as the consciousness of the body is mastered? As soon as we have grasped the limits of our skin we look for the other to find ourselves, but we don't even find, like Narcissus in the clear water of the stream, our own image but the distorted one of the other whom we must dominate if we want to avoid being dominated. New groupings do of course emerge, and militantism can sometimes supply an

escape from loneliness. The search for dominance is then organized on the scale of social groups, of social class, leading, without the goal being even camouflaged by words, to the "dictatorship" of one class over the other and to the immediate institutionalization of the rules establishing the new hierarchies of dominance.

A few thoughts concerning the child and the city

We said at the beginning that biology taught us that a subunit in a system must have the same purpose as the unit. The sub-unit "children" within the urban social unit must therefore have the same motivations. We have just specified why the motivations of the encompassing unit consist in maintaining its structure without which there would be no unit; why this structure has always been until now a hierarchical structure of dominance; why this urban social unit is in turn encompassed by social, regional, national, international structures in which the search for dominance through productivity constitutes the sole purpose; why this search is today at the root of the tentacular urban concentrations; why the adult seeks only to introduce the child more or less advantageously into this system, a system which he finds more and more alienating without ever trying to understand its significance and its origins.

The way the management of the city for the child is generally proposed stems from a paternalism whose sole aim is to help the child to better bear the existing socio-culture in order to maintain it without ever considering to transform it. We recently read a paper, written by a woman, a mother no doubt, with important municipal responsibilities, saying that much had already been done for school equipment, but that "important points" remained: installation of refectories for the children who in greater and greater numbers take their meals at school . . . revision of class timetables to avoid tiring the child . . . dietetics, with the distribution of milk . . . games . . . adventure grounds that are a training place for life in society (sic) . . . centres for very young children . . . a municipal concession to be granted for an exercise ground for skateboards . . . etc. The article closes with the wish that these projects be implemented as soon as possible for the well-being of the children and the "future of France" (!). One wonders whether to laugh or cry at this kind of reading matter.

The essential question seems in fact to be: "Is man placed on earth with the sole purpose of producing goods, knowing that this purpose is but a means to establish dominances? As long as this fondamental problem is not solved, we will continue to deliver speeches and our actions will only be band-aids on gaping wounds.

Anguish and the quality of life

In the course of the last few years we have been able to uncover experimental facts which support the view that *anguish* and the profound biological perturbations attending it, suppressing the "quality of life" and conditioning the whole of pathology, particularly the so-called "civilization" diseases, are the result of the *inhibition of action.*

Action can be inhibited by various mechanisms: prohibitions resulting from acquired cultural automatisms, expression of the institutionalization of behavioral rules established by the dominants that allow to maintain the hierarchical structures, shortage of information or, on the contrary, overabundance of contradictory information which is impossible to classify according to some explanatory and comforting key, whether this key be Marxist, psychoanalytic, mythical or religious, etc. Finally, in Man, the activity of the imagination can, basing itself on deceptive experience, construct scenarios which will never happen. The ecological anguish concerning the nuclear is an example of this. The impossibility to act is never greater that within the limits of the overpopulated modern megalopolis with the bureaucratic rigid frame it requires, with the centralization of powers and the forces of coercion necessary to maintain it, with the fragmented work without joy. The increase of green spaces in large cities will do little to assuage the anguish resulting from these inhibiting factors. It is probable that the dangers of pollution, their organic repercussions, depend as much on the distress of the organisms subjected to the inhibition of action, which has a social cause, as on their real noxiousness.

In this anguish-ridden environmental niche the little city dweller will be born and bred. The means of escape from anguish are but few: there is aggressiveness which appears gratuitous to the non-initiated but which can resolve anguish through action, even when useless, even when asocial; there is departure, the "trip" of the drug addicts who create for themselves a non-aggressive world, often convivial, for the majority of psychotogenic drugs, except alcohol, lessen aggressiveness; there is neurosis in which body language attempts once more to communicate to the other the uncommunicable anguish of the unconscious neuronic conflict. In the end, there is psychosis in which all hope for the individual to communicate his despair and to find a remedy for it is definitively lost. Outside these escapes there exists for the greatest number

only submission to the hierarchical structures of dominance and to the conformism of leisure which has become a merchandise as well.

Childish narcissism, like that of the adult or the old person, needs to feel loved. The child aspires to return to his "I-all" (moi-tout), the primary narcissism in which satisfying our needs is achieved in the pleasure felt at the contact with a securing environmental niche. He also needs rules to feel secure, to allow him to act. But these rules should never be imposed by the environmental niche whose only role is to make him discover the rules by experience. How much time would the adults need to show sufficient interest in children? An important question, because the motivation of the adult in this relation is fundamental. Neither the parents if they could, nor the "animateurs" who flourish in greater and greater numbers on the asphalt of all large housing complexes, are conscious enough of themselves to make a lucid bio-behavioral analysis of these motivations. In past centuries, in the days of artisans, the child's life was very early interwoven with that of the adult. Today these lives merge again only at the end of the technical training period. Until then, the life of the child and the adolescent is surrendered to educators almost always full of conscious generosity, but unconscious of their own narcissistic motivation, of their own cultural automatisms, of their prejudices, their value judgements and finally, ignorant of what the child will find when he returns to his family setting, a setting more or less disjointed, a framework generally sacrificed to the genius of productivity.

Conclusions

I will be criticized, no doubt, for presenting statements of failure without bringing any practical solutions. It seemed important to me to show very schematically how the biology of human behavior in a social situation allows today to better understand the mechanisms, the pressures of necessity that have, below the logic of speeches and the comforting alibis of language, instructed the historical emergence of industrial civilization and of urban concentrations in which the problem of contemporary childhood in industrialized societies is placed. We may note in passing that the countries that are not yet industrialized seek to become so as soon as possible in order to participate in the dominance, for it is never pleasant to be submissive and exploited individually or collectively.

The problem presented to this meeting, "the child and the city", presents the much wider problem of the significance of the human species in the biosphere. We can no longer answer the question with grandfather's humanism, with philosophies, morals or religions. These have always existed and have resolved nothing. When an engine fails, if one does not know how it functions, not linguistically anymore, but experimentally, with a knowledge that can be reproduced, one has very little chance to get it running again. Raw materials and energy have always been available to mankind. For centuries the technical information to make use of them was lacking. This information was essentially produced by ethnic groups that had the "good luck" to develop in temperate climates. When they ran out of raw materials and energy to make use of their technical information, these groups went to capture them in the ecological space of other ethnic groups with different inclinations due to their different geo-climatic space. The first groups took advantage of the fact that the technical information they possessed allowed them to have more formidable arms to impose their dominance. Imperialism can be measured by its number of patents and technicians. It does not seem necessary to have graduated from what is called a "Grande École" to understand that the idea of property not being instinctive but acquired and historically established, there is no reason why the treasures of our planet should be the exclusive property of predatory human groups, full of aggression and sure of their right. These treasures are of three kinds: raw materials, energy and technical information without the two others are useless.

As long as these treasures are not the property of each man living on this earth, wars, genocide, exploitation of man by man will subsist under the most blatant or most secret guises. And only once planetary distribution has been organized will the child in the city at last become the child of Man. His blossoming will be at last possible outside the narrow framework in which he has been confined: that of an anthropoid ape who makes tools and goods and covers with words the simplistic nudity of his unconscious dominator.

This conclusion may be utopic, but any other seems to me to be comforting and hypocritical chatter. Let us hope that this utopia is realized before it is too late.

CONCLUSION

Urban Life and the Child: Evolution and Future Perspectives

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This Congress "Urban life and the child" was intended to be international. With few exceptions, however, our questions, our observations and our analyses have been directed only to one third of humanity, the prosperous third residing mainly in the cities of Europe and North America. This choice can be explained by the fact that urbanization is foremost a Western phenomenon.

The first needs of that billion of children which we have ignored are not needs of love, autonomy and socialization, but rather of food and security. We are daily reminded of this by the boat people, by the starving people of Africa, by the undernourished who feed themselves on the refuse left by the rich of the two other Americas, and finally by the exploited, the imprisoned, the tortured and, yes, even the assassinated children.

If the rate of urbanization of these under-developed or developing countries is still quite inferior to that of industrialized countries, these regions experience instead a phenomenon of urban hyper-growth. According to estimates, the fifteen cities that will experience the most rapid growth from the present to 1985, namely growth of 70% to 240%, all belong without exception to these regions.[1] And among the fifteen cities that will have the largest population in the world in 1985, more than half will be agglomerations of shanty-towns and "favelas". The proud Western capitals that at present occupy the first places, like London, Paris, Moscow, will find themselves at that time in 13th, 14th and 15th place respectively.[2] As painful as certain environmental conditions imposed on the urban children of the West may be, one can easily imagine that they don't come near those existing in the monstruous agglomerations of which Calcutta and Lagos are sad examples.

It is inevitable that the inhabitants of these so-called less advanced regions, which in 1970 represented approximately 70% of the world population, but whose gross national product totalled only 15%, look to so-called more advanced regions for models of development, regions in which 29% of the population in that year controlled 85% of the world's GNP.[3] For they know, according to the theory formulated by W.W. Rostow, that the stages of economic growth pass through industrialization and urbanization, and that the Western cities are considered to be the crucible as well as the mirror of economic and technical growth. What models of development, what life settings do these Western cities have to offer?

One cannot conceal first of all, as emphasized by the paper of Dr. Chess and by some workshops, that there still are many underprivileged people in the midst of this population of privileged ones. There are those whose skin colour makes too different from the dominant races: the blacks in the United States, the natives in Canada, the gypsies and other minorities in Europe. For them as for the labouring classes, wedged between the slum and the factory, hunger, sickness, the limits imposed on the vital space as well as on knowledge often remain akin to the conditions denounced in the less advanced regions.

One cannot conceal either that the urban environment of our Western societies presents numerous deficiencies of every kind, particularly felt by the non-productive groups to which children belong. To better pinpoint the essence of these deficiencies, their genesis and the means to be used to mitigate them, we have received sufficient information from the papers of, among others, Messrs. Caouette, Shorter, Ariès and Laborit to try to sketch a theoretical model of the evolution, from the pre-industrial period onward, of the relations of children with the family and with the physical environment. It is understood that this will be a roughly drawn picture, a little like a Rouault painting, in which the nuances are sacrificed for the benefit of the dominant outlines.

Evolution of the family in the city

In traditional societies the child is not a "precious possession" for most parents. Possibly because the daily struggle against penury monopolizes all energies. Possibly also as a defence reaction: infantile mortality is very high and one avoids getting too attached to the little beings. When they survive, we find them again in the street, for housing conditions are hard, and promiscuity is the lot of the majority.[4] As Philippe

1. *The Sunday Times Magazine*, March 31, 1974.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Brant, 1972.
4. Morel, (1977).

Ariès showed us, it is the whole of adult society that accepts the child and brings him up. The rules he must follow are not numerous, but they are strict: collective approval has the force of law.

To believe that the ancient cities were places where living was pleasant for the majority of the population is to perpetuate a myth appealing more to nostalgia than to historical truth. To the problems of crowding and promiscuity one must add those created by a fairly generalized violence and by deplorable conditions of public hygiene. On the other hand the spectacle of the street was undoubtedly richer than that of today, and the urban experience was more complete. For the pre-industrial city, the city of the Middle Ages in particular, constitutes a homogeneous setting. The place of work is not dissociated from the place of residence, the territory of play from that of trade. There is no barrier between the young and the old, nor between what is private and what is public. To take up an expression used by Professor Ariès, this "dense life" socializes the child. The city is for him a normal place for living, a place in which he is a user and in which he is also an important actor.

With the industrial revolution, the bourgeoisie finds in the city the ideal tool to make its capital fructify. The city becomes a place of exchange, of speculation, a reservoir of manpower: thus an abstraction on the same basis as money itself. Under the pressure of the market economy and the division of labour, the city grows, is transformed and specializes. Neighborhoods appear given over to production, these sordid popular neighborhoods so well described by Engels in Manchester, where men, women and children work in factories and live in poverty. Administration centres appear, where business is transacted and bureaucracy accretes. Consumption centres appear, that is, strictly residential developments where the rich bourgeois, with their families and institutions, take refuge in calm and green surroundings. The city is now supposed to be efficient, existing for the production and circulation of capital and of merchandise. It is the period of great vistas opened by the Baron Haussmann in Paris and by John Nash in London; this completes the eviction of the undesirable social classes and formalizes the urban spaces. The city ceases to be a homogeneous setting, but falls into specialized sectors; the city ceases to be global and becomes linear. The total urban experiences are replaced by partial and juxtaposed experiences.

Contrary to the pre-industrial city, the industrial agglomeration does not socialize the child any longer: it distinguishes him or stigmatizes him. The city becomes the place where two solitudes co-exist, the "two nations" denounced in the novels of Benjamin Disraeli. The child is born to rich parents or to poor parents: he knows the experiences of the rich or of the poor, seldom of both. Each of the families will, however, evolve perceptively in the same direction. On the one side the bourgeois will seek his sentimental satisfaction in his family, particularly because it will mostly serve his economic interest. On the other side, the city's inhospitable environment will force the ill-provided to seek refuge in the family, to weave ties in order better to resist. From this the sentimental nuclear family gradually emerged.

The hygienic tendency that pervades the city all through the 19th century will do much to improve the conditions of life of the labouring classes. At the same time the social reformers of this period, the disciples of Jeremy Bentham in England, of Jean-Baptiste de La Salle in France, William Channing, Henry H. Bellows and Horace Bushnell in the United States will contribute greatly to the reduction of the gaps between the social classes and to the democratization of the educational, cultural and leisure privileges, formerly appropriated by the bourgeoisie. The child will thus gain new places of socialization, among others the great urban park which will bring nature back to the city and of which Central Park in New York and Mount Royal in Montreal are prime examples. These reforms will, however, cut him off more and more from the city as a spectacle and from the society of adults by confining him more to the family dwelling and to the school.

With the twentieth century the capital owning bourgeoisie gradually lost its power to the managers, the technocrats and the bureaucrats, this new force which Galbraith called the "technostructure" and whose main characteristic is to pursue power for power's sake, production for production's sake and growth for growth's sake. This new force will find its counterpart on the public side in the emergence of the Welfare State with its anonymity and its hordes of functionaries. These new powers have given rise to a new class which Karl Marx did not foresee, the so-called middle-class which is now to be regarded, thanks to its numbers, as the dominant one in most countries with advanced economies, of which Canada is one. This class having at its disposal an acceptable income, private means of transportation and communication, has taken refuge in the urban periphery, in the uniformized and uniforming suburbs, in quiet search for individual happiness, thus completing the secular movement of the privatization of the city.

The latter has exploded in every direction and with the uniformization of the build-up framework and the robotization of behavior, it has become depersonalized and dehumanized to turn solely into an accumulation of individuals administrated by a bureaucracy. Besides one does not speak so much of cities today as of urban or metropolitan agglomerations. If in practice, because of the structure and shapes inherited from

the past, these agglomerations have not yet, like Los Angeles, conformed to the new operating demands created by this atomization, in theory certain urbanists, following Le Corbusier's example with his "Radiant City" (Cité radieuse), have provided the appropriate model. This is the abstract city, the pure machine with its calibrated and standardized city centre, with its interchangeable dwelling cells, the whole connected by a hierarchized network of circulation and communication.

According to the historian Shorter, a new phenomenon is manifesting itself in these anonymous modern agglomerations: the sentimental nuclear family is gradually replaced by the "family-couple". Within this new family cell each adult member fully intends to benefit from the achievements of the system and from the relaxation of social interdictions in order to find fulfilment. The child must not be an obstacle to this liberation and to the new affective relations that derive from it. His education and socialization are thus largely entrusted to the State which intervenes at all levels and commands programmes that answer to all the needs and circumstances of training. Moreover, the child himself will soon demand his autonomy to join a new sub-unit easily identifiable in our society, the group of juveniles. This group has its own values, but chiefly — and this is perhaps the main reason for this appearance — it has an important buying power which the neo-capitalist system has been quick to detect.

Future perspectives

What can we conclude from this theoretical model of evolution of the family and of the life milieu from traditional society to post-modern society, from pre-industrial city to post-industrial agglomeration? First with the sociologist Joachim Israël, that man and environment constitute a whole, that this whole is a continuously developing and changing entity and that it is precisely the permanence of change which contains the principal message delivered by this evolution. Next, that these changes are not accomplished without real benefits for adults and children. The latter have acquired an individualization as unique and irreplaceable personalities.[5] Children and parents have reaped, through the achievements in matters of housing and city hygiene a greater life expectancy and comfort that are not at all negligible. A majority of families enjoy henceforth a relative material security that would have aroused the envy of previous generations. And finally, there prevails in Western metropolies a freedom of thought, of expression and of behavior no longer subjected, as was the case in traditional societies, to collective approval . . . without, however being able to escape the attractions and conditioning of the economic system.

Unfortunately, these conquests have gone hand in hand with a privatization of the city, a privatization that has destroyed the social solidarities and retained only the strictly functional and utilitarian relations, the standardizing and serializing of life styles, the acculturation and degradation of urban forms and meanings. For the child this evolution is to some extent the history of a gradual dispossession. From the pre-industrial city to the post-industrial agglomeration he passes from a state in which he is educated and socialized by the society of adults and by the urban space, to a state in which he is conditioned, either directly, or indirectly through the intermediary of his parents and of his professional educators, through a production system that pursues its own growth as an end, and that has atomized society and reduced to triteness the vital space. Is this the only model for development and life environment that will be accessible to the two thirds of humanity that today covet our privileges of prosperous people?

Henri Laborit upholds the hypothesis that this dehumanization of the urban environment will continue, for the child's training for the perpetuation of the system will be "rewarded by material and narcissistic gratifications" that will lead him to wish for and preserve this gratifying social structure. I personally am voicing the hypothesis that precisely in this kind of gratification lies, in the long run, the principal weakness of the system. In comparison with the advantages that, as time goes by, will become more and more precious and which new relations with the environment and with human beings can provide (some of these relations are already being experienced here and there) what value does monetary-gratification represent, two-thirds of which is anyway recuperated by the Welfare State? Power gratification in a bureaucracy that has precisely the effect of diluting and restraining power? Are those gratifications not liable to appear a little dull, insignificant and even grotesque to our children who have never known penury? Is this not the message left to us by those young privileged Americans who stopped an unjust war and de-stabilized the most powerful nation on earth with their cry: "Make love not war"? Is this not the message transmitted by the spoiled youths who rocked the certitudes of old Europe in May 1968?

It may seem illusory to evoke the hopes of the sixties at a time when we are entering a period of neo-conservatism that applies itself precisely to negate them. However, human evolution is slow and in the rise of the spiral the ideas of those years of grace have not been lost. On the contrary, they are beginning to be

5. *Ibid.*

interpreted in many urban agglomerations, be it Amsterdam, Bologna, Grenoble, Toronto or elsewhere, by banishing the car, by re-introducing nature into the city, by preserving the cultural heritage, by respecting diversity. Again, as Mr. Israël notes, it is these ideas emanating from the counter-culture that will allow an ever greater number of people to lead a more tolerable urban life in the midst of a technocratic society.

One thing is certain, and the thinker Murray Bookchin is categorical about it: it is not conventional urbanism that will bring valid solutions to the present urban stagnation. For urbanism is only a tool in the service of a value system. The human and physical degradation of our cities lies to a great extent in the fact that we continue to rely on a value system which was born in the ages of darkness and penury and has nothing in common with present-day reality, with the acquired knowledge and with the technical means we possess to better control our fate. Instead of developing new relations with the environment and with other beings, relations from which more human agglomerations could spring, we continue to place value on the old principles of bourgeois rationality extolling exploitation and consumption at any price, competition, the "each-for-himself", the accumulation of wealth, in short the predominance of having over doing and being.

As Herbert Marcuse repeated before his recent death, there is an urgent need in our Western societies for an esthetic adventure. In other words, for the pursuit of an integral human development that would take into account not only man's mental capacity to dominate his environment and his fellow-men, but also the capacity of his body, of his senses, of his imagination and of his sensibility. We must counteract the power of money, the abstraction of the city and the anonymity of bureaucracy with the power of imagination and sensibility to make our cities mirror not only economic and technical advances, but also respect for nature, for man and for his culture.

It has often been said that happiness is a childhood wish fulfilled in maturity. Money is not a child's wish and perhaps this is why there are so many unhappy people in the opulence of our cities. All of us, gathered here are part of the 20% of humanity that does not know penury. We have the responsibility of creating for our children and for those who covet our good luck more human urban settings. This will only be possible by changing our value system. The speaker Charles Caouette has insisted on our adult commitment to this process of change. I take the liberty to remind you of the hope which, from this point of view, our children represent, they who are innocent of our compromises, if we have the wisdom to respect their liberty and their autonomy of conscience.

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ADDRESS

Mr. Jacques-Yvan Morin, Vice-Premier and Minister of Education

Mr. President of the Congress,
Mr. President of the World Union for the Safeguard of Youth,
Mr. President of the Conseil du Québec de l'Enfance Exceptionnelle,
Ladies,
Gentlemen,

In this International Year of the Child, the Conseil du Québec de l'Enfance Exceptionnelle and the World Union for the Safeguard of Youth have chosen to hold a Congress on the theme "Urban life and the child".

In my capacity of Vice-Premier I want to tell you how happy Québec has been to welcome the delegates and the experts of WUSY. In the course of these four days of intense deliberations, all centered on the child, you have shared among yourselves and with the experts and delegates of the CQEE the fruit of your labours, your experience, your manifold research arising from concerns and problems common to many countries. You were encouraged in your deliberations by that hope, deeply rooted in each of us, that it is the child who today brings the promise of "a happy city, beneficial to all", according to the expression used by the President of this Congress inviting you to observe, reflect and act within the framework of this International Congress.

One would have thought that our century, so "developed" in certain aspects, would truly be the century of individual rights and, all the more, the century of the rights of the child. Alas, facts arise daily to contradict this view of the matter. More than ever agencies such as yours are necessary to ensure that these rights be respected. You will soon return to your respective cities and countries where you will carry on your daily interventions among children and adolescents.

To those who work in Québec — here I express myself as Minister of Education — I would like to repeat how much we count on each of them for the implementation of the policies and the plans of action which we adopted for the Québec School at the very beginning of this International Year of the Child and after extended consultations with parents, educators, school administrators, as well as with the whole of the interested population. Last autumn: children in difficulties. This autumn: underprivileged environments.

To all those who have come from other parts of Canada, from America and from the whole world, I wish them success in taking back with them from their too brief stay in Québec pleasant memories, of course, but perhaps also a realization of the efforts we are making here to endow ourselves with policies and plans of action apt to reduce inequalities as much in the field of social affairs as in that of education. It is thus, for example, that we intend to better secure the protection of youth, the respect for the rights of handicapped persons, the accessibility of educational services of quality, dispensed under the most normal conditions possible, to all children with adjustment or learning difficulties.

The exchange of information and the pooling of a variety of experiences promoted by a conference such as the one you have just held will no doubt contribute to improve the services which in each of our countries we strive to give to those in particular who are in need of help and protection.

This at least is the wish I express on the occasion of the closing of the International Congress "Urban life and the child".